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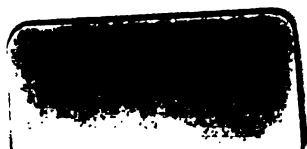
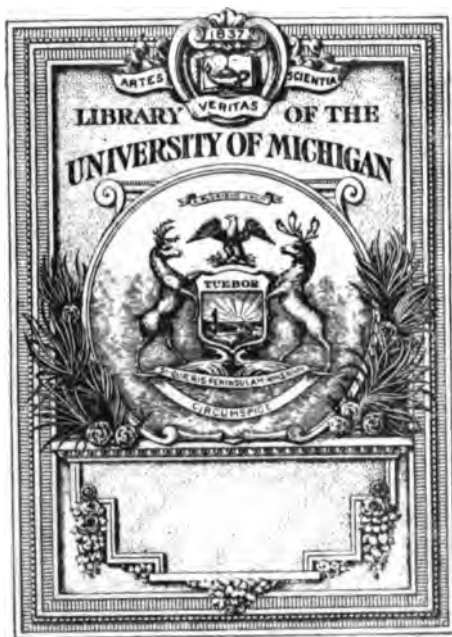
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**BACON'S ESSAYS.**



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*Francis* *Viscount St. Albans*  
BACON'S ESSAYS

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*EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*

BY

ALFRED S. WEST, M.A.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
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## PREFACE.

IN preparing this edition of Bacon's *Essays*, I have had two objects in view. In the first place I have endeavoured to provide the general reader with information which shall enable him to understand the *Essays*, and in the second place I have endeavoured to convey the information in such a form that he may read them with enjoyment. It is only the advanced scholar who can understand Bacon without the aid of threefold explanations,—explanations of the language, of the thought, and of the allusions. With regard to Bacon's language, Mr Reynolds says that 'almost every page of the *Essays* bristles with difficulties, some of them the more likely to mislead because even a careful reader, not familiar with the language of Bacon's age, might fail to detect them for what they are.' I have therefore added footnotes which explain these verbal difficulties and furnish an English rendering of the numerous Latin quotations. From these footnotes the reader can obtain the interpretation of Bacon's language without repeatedly turning the pages to hunt for words in a Glossary. Interruptions of this sort inevitably rob a book of much of its charm, and one aim of this edition is to make it possible, as we said, for Bacon to be read with enjoyment.

may be said that the names of the persons are in the Essays, making the names that these disquisitions may be said to be the names of the persons who are the subjects of the disquisitions. But the names of the persons are not in the Essays, making the names that these disquisitions may be said to be the names of the persons who are the subjects of the disquisitions.

The student who understands Bacon's method of his argument, and the points of his argument, will find that the principal objects with which he is concerned are those which possess considerable differences between the English of our own day. I have said nothing of the Essays with a view to his political career. I have also abstained from parallel passages from his other writings of his good things and when he had said them again. As I have said.

epetition, from the *Advancement of Learning* or from the *History of Henry VII.*, of remarks which already figure in *Essays* seems unnecessary. The desire to economise space has led me to supply, as a rule, merely the numbered reference to passages in other authors.

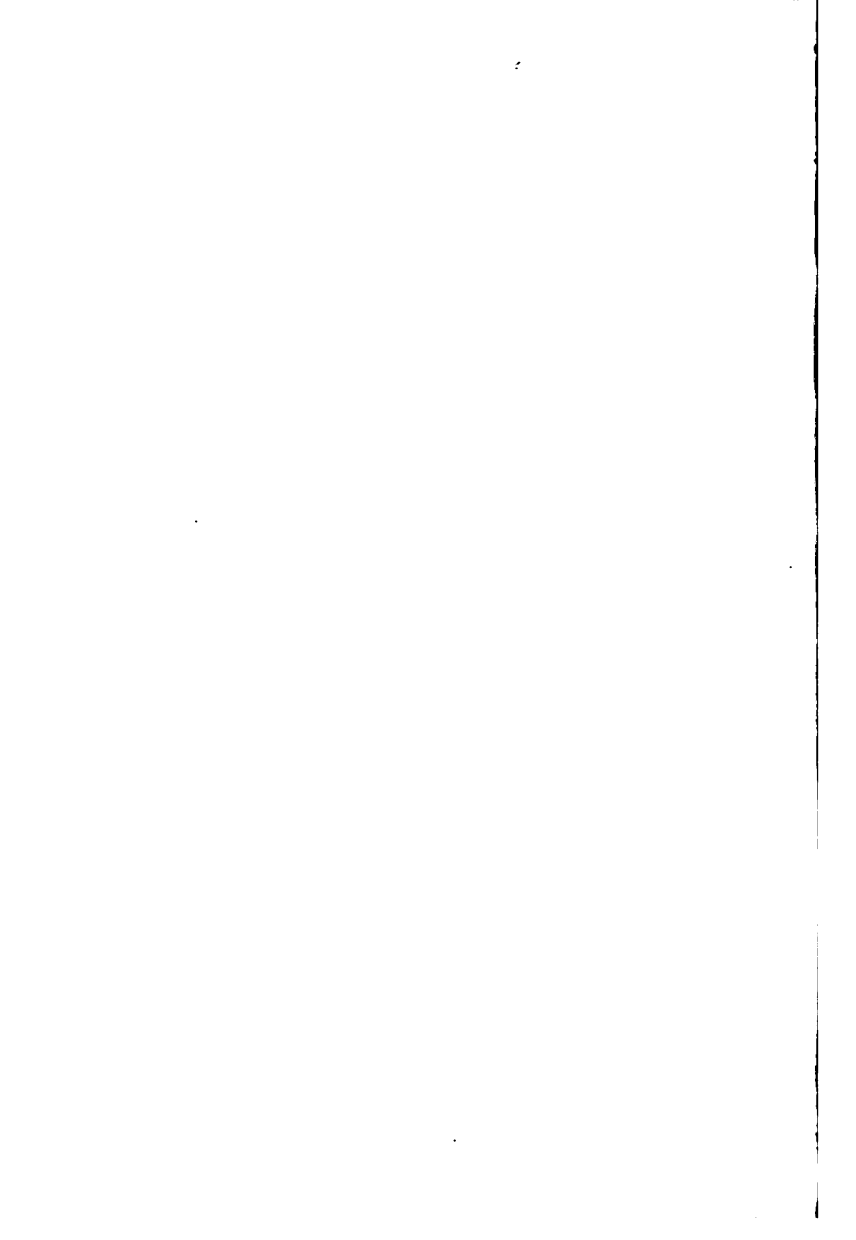
For the spelling I have generally followed Mr Aldis Wright's text, but I have modified the punctuation by moving some thousands of stops which, at the present day, are a source only of embarrassment. After a short acquaintance with the book, the reader will find no difficulty in the profusion of capital letters and the liberal disregard of orthographical conventions, but will probably make his old-world author all the better in the author's old-world dress.

To Mr Aldis Wright, Dr Abbott, and Mr S. H. Reynolds, among the many editors of Bacon's *Essays*, my indebtedness is very great. I have also made use occasionally of the Notes furnished by Mr Hunter, Mr Selby, and Messrs Storr and Gibson. An acknowledgment in this general form will, I trust, be accepted as covering particular instances in which I may have borrowed without making explicit reference to the source. My thanks are due to Mr John Sargeaunt, of University College, Oxford, for helpful suggestions on several points respecting which I have asked his advice.

A. S. WEST.

38, BATH ROAD, CHISWICK,

January 1st, 1897.



THE  
ESSAYES  
OR  
COVNSELS,  
CIVILL AND  
MORALL,  
OF  
*FRANCIS LO. VERVLAM,*  
VISCOVNT St. ALBAN.

---

*Newly enlarged.*

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LONDON,  
Printed by IOHN HAVILAND for  
HANNA BARRET, and RICHARD  
WHITAKER, and are to be sold  
at the signe of the Kings head in  
Pauls Church-yard. 1625.





## INTRODUCTION.

WHAT Bacon meant by the word 'Essay' he has told us himself. 'The want of leisure,' he says, 'hath made me choose to write certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called ESSAYS. The word is late, but the thing is ancient. For Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius, if one mark them well, are but Essays,—that is, dispersed meditations, though conveyed in the form of Epistles.'

Montaigne's Essays had appeared in 1580. The first edition of Bacon's *Essays* was published in 1597. Bacon was acquainted with Montaigne's work, though he refers to Montaigne by name only once. In the Essay on Truth, which was a new contribution to the third edition of 1625, he quotes Montaigne, and quotes him with characteristic inaccuracy. 'Mountaigny saith prettily,' he writes; but the pretty saying is Plutarch's, not Montaigne's, and is mentioned by Montaigne as the remark of 'un ancien.' Between the Essays of Bacon and the Essays of Montaigne there is little in common, 'except their rare power of exciting interest, and the unmistakable mark of genius which is impressed on both<sup>1</sup>.'

Short jottings on great subjects,—jottings thrown together without any serious attempt at elaboration, completeness, or methodical arrangement,—jottings 'of a nature whereof a man

<sup>1</sup> Prof. T. Fowler.

shall find much in experience but little in books,'—jottings 'which come home to men's business and bosoms,'—such are Bacon's Essays, described pretty much in his own terms.

Compositions of this sort naturally suffer now and then from the lack of method and precision. Bacon sometimes employs a word in ambiguous senses. Thus, when he writes about Truth, the term 'Truth' stands at first for the correspondence of thought with fact, and afterwards for the virtue of truthfulness, which is quite a different matter. 'Envy' is used to denote, not only what we commonly understand by the name, but also malevolence and popular discontent. Within the limits of a short Essay, Beauty is variously analysed with curious inconsistency<sup>1</sup>.

Bacon's strength appears to the best advantage in his speculations on character and conduct,—in the practical sagacity (not always wisdom of the highest order,) of his maxims for managing one's fellow men. Here we have the teaching of an expert whose career had familiarised him with the wiles and artifices of courtiers and officials,—the teaching of one who had himself been an 'actor upon the stage,' and who was also a shrewd observer of life.

In the history of English literature, Bacon ranks among the creators of our modern prose<sup>2</sup>. His position as a classic is secure. With greater versatility than Ascham, or Sidney, or Hooker, he produced masterpieces in more styles than one. Yet it was almost an accident that he wrote in English at all. He felt no confidence in the enduring stability of his native tongue. If a book of his was to 'live and be a citizen of the world, as English books are not,' it must be translated into Latin. 'These modern languages,' he says, 'will at one time or another play the bank-rowte with books.'

Though his style, varying with the requirements of his

<sup>1</sup> For the substance of the remarks contained in this paragraph and the next I am indebted to Mr Reynolds (Introduction to *Bacon's Essays*, pp. xxii—xxv). The whole of Mr Reynolds's Introduction deserves careful and repeated reading.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bacon's Essays*, edited by Messrs Storr and Gibson, Introduction, pp. lxxii—lxxiv.

subject, is sometimes rich and ornate, sometimes solemn and majestic, sometimes penetrating and concise, the quality of superb self-confidence is seldom absent. (What he conceives as a poet, he utters as a prophet, and as a prophet who delivers his message and disdains controversy.) He speaks as one having authority: '*Franciscus Baconus sic cogitavit*. These are thoughts which have occurred to me ; weigh them well, and take them or leave them<sup>1</sup>.'

His expressions are often obscure. Perhaps the obscurity was sometimes intentional. At any rate the fault was of old standing. His mother forwards to her son Anthony one of his brother's letters. 'Construe the interpretation,' she says: 'I do not understand his enigmatical folded writing<sup>2</sup>.' Usually however the want of clearness is due to the terseness of his utterance. Thoughts which a writer of our own day would distil over a page, Bacon condenses into a sentence. What he writes is meant, not 'to be swallowed' in a hurry, but 'to be chewed and digested' with deliberation. No man ever packed so much matter into smaller compass.

Dean Church says of Bacon's Essays that 'they are like chapters in Aristotle's Ethics and Rhetoric on virtues and characters ; only Bacon takes Aristotle's broad marking lines as drawn, and proceeds with the subtler and more refined observations of a much longer and wider experience. But these short papers say what they have to say without preface, and in literary undress, without a superfluous word, without the joints and bands of structure: they say it in brief, rapid sentences, which come down, sentence after sentence, like the strokes of a great hammer<sup>3</sup>.'

Bacon's fertility of imagination was immense. 'In wit, if by wit be meant the power of perceiving analogies between things which appear to have nothing in common, he never had an

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay, *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 409. Cf. Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, Introduction, p. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Mr Reynolds's Introduction, p. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> Bacon, 'English Men of Letters,' pp. 215—16.

equal<sup>1</sup>. Ingenious metaphors abound in his writings. Some of his expressions have obtained currency as quotations among people of education. Even the man in the street can speak of children as 'hostages to fortune,' though he might be puzzled to fix the phrase on its right author. Whatever the subject of discourse, Bacon has an illustration at hand.

Not only does he give us an illustration, but the chances are that he will throw in a quotation as well. He quotes with the copiousness and magnificent inaccuracy of many a modern journalist. His quotations fall into two classes,—Quotations and Misquotations, and one cannot decide off-hand which class is the more numerous. Sometimes he was inaccurate because his memory played him false and he was too indifferent about trifles to verify his quotations. Sometimes he deliberately tampered with an author to bring the quotation into harmony with its new context. In his quotations, as in his philosophy generally, exactness of detail was sacrificed to width of range.

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay, *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 410.

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TO  
THE RIGHT  
HONORABLE MY  
VERY GOOD LO. THE DVKE

of *Buckingham* his Grace, Lo.

High Admirall of England.

EXCELLENT LO.

SALOMON saies, *A good Name is as a precious oyntment;*  
And I assure my selfe, such wil your Grace's Name bee  
with Posteritie. For your Fortune and Merit both have beene  
Eminent. And you have planted Things, that are like to last.  
I doe now publish my *Essayes*; which of all my other workes  
have beene most Currant; For that, as it seemes, they come  
home to Men's Businesse and Bosomes. I have enlarged them,  
both in Number and Weight; So that they are indeed a New  
Worke. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my Affection and  
Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your Name before them, both  
in English and in Latine. For I doe conceive, that the Latine  
Volume of them, (being in the Universall Language) may last,  
as long as Bookes last. My *Instauration*, I dedicated to the  
King: My *Historie of HENRY the Seventh*, (which I have  
now also translated into Latine) and my *Portions of Naturall*







TO  
THE RIGHT  
HONORABLE AND  
VERY GOOD LORD THE

of Buckingham and Northampton  
High Admiral of England.

EXCELLENT LORD,

SALOMON saies, *A good Name is as a precious oylment*  
And I assure my selfe such will your Name be  
with Posteritie. For your Fortune and Vertue were  
Eminent. And you have pleased Things that are not  
I doe now publish my *Essays*, which if as yet your works  
have beene most Current; For first in a volume that came  
home to Men's Business and Instruction. Now it is enlarged  
both in Number and Weight by this new and enlarged  
Worke. I thought it my duty to present it to you as  
Obligation to your Grace, in proofe your Grace shall have  
in English and in Latine. For the first time, the first  
Volume of them, being as the *Business* of the world  
as long as Bookes last. My *Instruction* to the  
King: My *Historie of HELEN*: My *Travels* and  
now also translated into French and into Italian.

*History*, to the Prince : And these I dedicate to your Grace ;  
Being of the best Fruits, that by the good Encrease, which God  
gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. God leade your  
Grace by the Hand.

*Your Grace's most Obliged and  
faithfull Servant,*

FR. ST. ALBAN.

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# ESSAYES

*no definition*

## I

### OF TRUTH

*WHAT is Truth?* said jesting Pilate<sup>1</sup>; And would not stay for an Answer. Certainly there be that delight in Giddinesse<sup>2</sup>, And count it a Bondage to fix a Beleefe; Affecting<sup>3</sup> Freewill in Thinking, as well as in Acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that Kinde be gone, 5 yet there remaine certaine discoursing Wits<sup>4</sup>, which are of the same veines, though there be not so much Bloud in them as was in those of the Ancients<sup>5</sup>. But it is not onely the Difficultie and Labour which Men take in finding out of Truth; Nor againe that, when it is found, it imposeth<sup>6</sup> 10 upon men's Thoughts, that doth bring Lies in<sup>7</sup> favour; But a naturall though corrupt Love of the Lie it selfe. One of the later Schoole of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand<sup>8</sup> to thinke what should be in it<sup>9</sup>, that men should love Lies; Where neither they make for Pleasure, 15 as with Poets; Nor for Advantage, as with the Merchant; but for the Lie's sake. But I cannot tell<sup>10</sup>: This same

<sup>1</sup> said Pilate in derision

<sup>2</sup> fickleness

<sup>3</sup> aiming at

<sup>4</sup> discursive minds

<sup>5</sup> whose disposition is the same as that of the ancients, though their

abilities are less

<sup>6</sup> i.e. imposes restraint

<sup>7</sup> into

<sup>8</sup> at a loss

<sup>9</sup> why

<sup>10</sup> know

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[illegible]

... at about 5 minutes by the Holy Spirit

upon the Sea: A pleasure to stand in the window of a Castle, and to see a Battaille, and the Adventures<sup>1</sup> thereof, below: But no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of Truth, (A hill not to be commanded<sup>2</sup>, and where the Ayre is alwaies cleare and serene,) And to see the Errours, and Wandrings, and Mists, and Tempests, in the vale below: So alwaies, that<sup>3</sup> this prospect be with Pitty, and not with Swelling or Pride. Certainly, it is Heaven upon Earth, to have a Man's Minde Move in Charitie, Rest in Providence, and Turne upon the Poles of Truth. 60

To passe from Theologicall and Philosophicall Truth to the Truth of civill Businesse<sup>4</sup>; It will be acknowledged, even by those that practize it not, that cleare and Round<sup>5</sup> dealing is the Honour of Man's Nature; And that Mixture of Falshood is like Alloy in Coyne of Gold and Silver, which may make the Metall worke the better, but it embaseth<sup>6</sup> it. For these winding and crooked courses are the Goings of the Serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the Feet. There is no Vice<sup>7</sup> that doth so cover a Man with Shame as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore Mountaigny saith prettily, when he enquired the reason why the word of the Lie should be such a Disgrace, and such an Odious Charge, Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To say that a man lieth, is as much to say as that he is brave towards God and a Coward towards Men.* For a Lie faces God, and shrinkes from Man. Surely the Wickednesse of Falshood and Breach of Faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last Peale<sup>8</sup> to call the Iudgements of God upon the Generations of Men; It being foretold that, when Christ commeth, *He shall not finde Faith upon the Earth.* 80

<sup>1</sup> chances<sup>2</sup> not to be overlooked, or, perhaps, inaccessible to others<sup>3</sup> provided that<sup>4</sup> the habit of truthfulness in

social intercourse

<sup>5</sup> plain and straightforward<sup>6</sup> debases<sup>7</sup> i.e. no other vice<sup>8</sup> summons



III

OF UNITY IN RELIGION

Religion being the chiefe Band<sup>1</sup> of humane<sup>2</sup> Society, it  
 appoyning when it selfe is well contained within  
 a true Band of Unity. The Quarrels and Divisions about  
 Religion were Evils unknowne to the Heathen. The  
 reason why, because the Religion of the Heathen consisted  
 in Rites and Ceremonies then in any constant Be-  
 come. For you may imagine what kinde of Faith theirs  
 was, when the chiefe Doctors<sup>3</sup> and Fathers of their Church  
 were in Doubt. But the true God hath this Attribute,  
 that he is a *Single God*; And therefore, his worship and  
 Religion must endure no Mixture, nor Partner. We shall  
 therefore speake a few words concerning the Unity of the  
 Church. What are the Fruits thereof: what the Bounds;  
 and what the Measures?

The Unity of the Church next unto the well Pleasing of God,  
 is twofold: The One, towards those that  
 are within the Church. The Other, towards those that  
 are without. For the former, it is certaine that Heresies  
 and Schismes are of all things the greatest Scandals: yea  
 the most dangerous. For as in the Naturall  
 World, a Division of Community<sup>4</sup> is worse then a  
 Division of the Spirituall. So that nothing doth  
 so much shake the Unity of the Church, and drive Men out  
 of the Church, as Schismes and Heresies. And therefore, when  
 we speak of the Unity of the Church, we must say, *Unity in  
 Doctrine*. And this Unity is twofold: That is,  
 when some Men have taken the Commandment of Christ-  
 likes, and others have taken the Commandment of a Church, that  
 voice has been continually heard, *Men have taken the  
 voice of the Church, and the Church has taken the voice of the  
 men*. And this is the Unity of the Church, the

<sup>1</sup> bond

<sup>2</sup> human

<sup>3</sup> teachers

<sup>4</sup> As for

<sup>5</sup> than, where

the Church

the Church is the Church

the Church is the Church

the Church

the Church

Propriety<sup>1</sup> of whose Vocation drew him to have a special care of (those without) saith, *If an Heathen come in, and heare you speake with severall Tongues, Will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly, it is little better, when Atheists and prophane Persons do heare of so many Discordant and 35 Contrary Opinions in Religion. It doth avert<sup>2</sup> them from the Church, and maketh them *To sit downe in the chaire of the Scorners*. It is but a light Thing to be Vouched<sup>3</sup> in so Serious a Matter, but yet it expresseth well the Deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing, that in his Catalogue of 40 Books of a fained Library sets Downe this Title of a Booke, *The morris daunce of Heretikes*. For indeed every Sect of them hath a Divers<sup>4</sup> Posture or Cringe<sup>5</sup> by themselves, which cannot but Move Derision in Worldlings and Depraved Politickes<sup>6</sup>, who are apt to contemne Holy 45 Things.

As for the Fruit towards those that are within, It is Peace, which containeth infinite Blessings: It<sup>7</sup> establisheth Faith; It kindleth Charity; The outward Peace of the Church Distilleth into Peace of Conscience; And it turneth 50 the Labours of Writing and Reading of Controversies into Treaties<sup>8</sup> of Mortification and Devotion.

Concerning the Bounds of Unity; The true Placing of them importeth exceedingly<sup>9</sup>. There appeare to be two extremes. For to certaine Zelants<sup>10</sup> all Speech of Pacifica- 55 tion is odious. *Is it peace, Iehu? What hast thou to doe with peace? turne thee behinde me.* Peace is not the Matter<sup>11</sup>, but Following and Party. Contrariwise, certaine Laodiceans and Luke-warme Persons thinke they may accommodate<sup>12</sup> Points of Religion by Middle Waies, and 60 taking part of both, And witty<sup>13</sup> Reconcilements, As if they would make an Arbitrement betweene God and Man. Both these Extremes are to be avoyded; which will be

---

<sup>1</sup> distinguishing property

<sup>2</sup> repel

<sup>3</sup> cited

<sup>4</sup> different

<sup>5</sup> extravagant gesture

<sup>6</sup> politicians

<sup>7</sup> i.e. Peace

<sup>8</sup> treatises

<sup>9</sup> is exceedingly important

<sup>10</sup> zealots

<sup>11</sup> sc. in which they are interested

<sup>12</sup> compromise

<sup>13</sup> ingenious

done, if the League of Christians, penned by our Saviour  
 65 himselfe, were in the two crosse<sup>1</sup> Clauses thereof soundly  
 and plainly expounded; *He that is not with us is against  
 us*: And againe, *He that is not against us is with us*: That  
 is, if the Points Fundamentall and of Substance in Religion  
 were truly discerned and distinguished from Points not  
 70 meerely<sup>2</sup> of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention.  
 This is a Thing may seeme to many a Matter triviall, and  
 done already; But if it were done lesse partially<sup>3</sup>, it would  
 be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give onely this Advice, according to my  
 75 small Modell<sup>4</sup>. Men ought to take heede of rending God's  
 Church by two kinds of Controversies. The one is, when  
 the Matter of the Point controverted is too small and light,  
 not worth the Heat and Strife about it, kindled onely by  
 Contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers,  
 80 *Christ's Coat, indeed, had no seame, But the Church's Vesture  
 was of divers colours*; whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas  
 sit, scissura non sit*<sup>5</sup>; They be two Things, Unity and  
 Uniformity. The other is, when the Matter of the Point  
 Controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great  
 85 Subtilty and Obscurity; So that it becommeth a Thing  
 rather Ingenious then Substantiall. A man that is of  
 Iudgement and understanding shall sometimes heare Igno-  
 rant Men differ, and know well within himselfe that those  
 which so differ meane one thing<sup>6</sup>, and yet they themselves  
 90 would never agree. And if it come so to passe, in that  
 distance of Iudgement<sup>7</sup> which is betweene Man and Man,  
 Shall wee not thinke that God above, that knowes the  
 Heart, doth not<sup>8</sup> discern that fraile Men, in some of their  
 Contradictions, intend the same thing, and accepteth<sup>9</sup> of  
 95 both? The Nature of such Controversies is excellently  
 expressed by St. Paul, in the Warning and Precept that  
 he giveth concerning the same, *Devita profanas vocum*

<sup>1</sup> contradictory

<sup>2</sup> not entirely

<sup>3</sup> with less of party spirit

<sup>4</sup> limited design

<sup>5</sup> In the garment there may be  
 divers colours, but let there be no

rent.

<sup>6</sup> the same thing

<sup>7</sup> difference in intellectual ca-  
 pacity

<sup>8</sup> omit the redundant not

<sup>9</sup> approves

*Novitates, et Oppositiones falsi Nominis Scientia*<sup>1</sup>. Men create Oppositions which are not<sup>2</sup>, And put them into new termes, so fixed as<sup>3</sup>, whereas the Meaning ought to governe the 100 Terme, the Terme in effect governeth the Meaning. There be also two false Peaces, or Unities; The one, when the Peace is grounded but upon an implicate<sup>4</sup> ignorance; For all Colours will agree in the Darke: The other, when it is peeced<sup>5</sup> up, upon a direct Admission of Contraries in 105 Fundamentall Points. For Truth and Falshood, in such things, are like the Iron and Clay in the toes of Nabucadnezar's Image; They may Cleave, but they will not Incorporate.

Concerning the Meanes of procuring Unity; Men must 110 beware that, in the Procuring or Muniting<sup>6</sup> of Religious Unity, they doe not Dissolve and Deface the Lawes of Charity and of humane<sup>7</sup> Society. There be two Swords amongst Christians, the Spirituall and Temporall; And both have their due Office and place in the maintenance 115 of Religion. But we may not take up the Third sword, which is Mahomet's Sword, or like unto it; That is, to propagate<sup>8</sup> Religion by Warrs, or by Sanguinary Persecutions to force Consciences; except it be in cases of Overt Scandall, Blasphemy, or Intermixture of Practize<sup>9</sup> against the 120 State; Much lesse to Nourish Seditions; To Authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions; To put the Sword into the People's Hands, And the like, Tending to the Subversion of all Government, which is the Ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the first Table against the Second, And 125 so to consider Men as Christians, as<sup>10</sup> we forget that they are Men. Lucretius the Poet, when he beheld the Act of Agamemnon, that could endure the Sacrificing of his owne Daughter, exclaimed—

*Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum*<sup>11</sup>.

130

<sup>1</sup> Avoid profane and vain babblings and oppositions of science falsely so called.

<sup>2</sup> which have no existence

<sup>3</sup> that

<sup>4</sup> inherent

<sup>5</sup> patched

<sup>6</sup> fortifying

<sup>7</sup> human

<sup>8</sup> the propagation of

<sup>9</sup> plotting

<sup>10</sup> that

<sup>11</sup> So great were the evils to which religion could prompt.

What would he have said, if he had knowne of the Massacre in France, or the Powder Treason of England? He would have beene Seven times more Epicure<sup>1</sup> and Atheist then he was. For as the temporall Sword is to bee drawne  
 135 with great Circumspection in Cases of Religion, So it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the Common People. Let that bee left unto the Anabaptists and other Puries. It was great Blasphemy, when the Devill said, *I will ascend and be like the Highest*; But it is greater Blas-  
 140 phemy to personate<sup>2</sup> God, and bring him in<sup>3</sup> saying, *I will descend and be like the Prince of Darknesse*; And what<sup>4</sup> is it better, to make the cause of Religion to descend to the cruell and execrable Actions of Murthering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subversion of States and Govern-  
 145 ments? Surely, this is to bring Downe the Holy Ghost, in stead of the Liknesse of a Dove, in the Shape of a Vulture or Raven; And to set, out of the Barke of a Christian Church, a Flagge of a Barque of Pirats and Assassins. Therfore it is most necessary, that the Church by Doctrine  
 150 and Decree; Princes by their Sword; And all Learnings, both Christian and Morall, as by their Mercury Rod; Doe Damne and send to Hell for ever those Facts<sup>5</sup> and Opinions tending to the Support of the same; As hath beene already in good part done. Surely in Counsels Concerning Religion,  
 155 that Counsel of the Apostle would be<sup>6</sup> prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet Iusticiam Dei*<sup>7</sup>. And it was a notable Observation of a wise Father, And no lesse ingenuously confessed, *That those, which held and perswaded<sup>8</sup> pressure of Consciencs, were commonly interested<sup>9</sup> therin themselves for their owne*  
 160 *ends.*

<sup>1</sup> Epicurean<sup>2</sup> assign a part in the drama to<sup>3</sup> on the stage<sup>4</sup> how<sup>5</sup> deeds<sup>6</sup> needs to be<sup>7</sup> The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.<sup>8</sup> inculcated<sup>9</sup> interested

## IV

## OF REVENGE

REVENGE is a kinde of Wilde<sup>1</sup> Iustice, where the more Man's Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out. For as for the first Wrong, it doth but offend the Law; but the Revenge of that wrong putteth the Law out of Office<sup>2</sup>. Certainly, in taking Revenge, A Man is but even with his 5 Enemy; But in passing it over, he is Superiour: For it is a Prince's part to Pardon. And Salomon, I am sure<sup>3</sup>, saith, *It is the glory of a Man to passe by an offence.* That which is past, is gone and Irrevocable; And wise Men have Enough to doe with things present and to come: Therefore, 10 they doe but trifle with themselves that labour in past matters. | There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, But therby to purchase himselfe<sup>4</sup> Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a Man, for loving himselfe better then mee? And if 15 any Man should doe wrong, meerely<sup>5</sup> out of ill nature, why<sup>6</sup>, yet it is but like the Thorn, or Bryar, which prick and scratch because they can doe no other. The most Tolerable<sup>7</sup> Sort of Revenge is for those wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: | But then, let a man take heed the 20 Revenge be such as there is no law to punish; Else, a Man's Enemy is still before hand<sup>8</sup>, And it is two for one.) Some, when they take Revenge, are Desirous the party should know whence it commeth: This is the more Generous. For the Delight seemeth to be, not so much in doing 25 the Hurt, as in Making the Party repent: But Base and Crafty Cowards are like the Arrow that flyeth in the Darke. (Cosmus, Duke of Florence, had a Desperate<sup>9</sup> Saying against Perfidious or Neglecting<sup>10</sup> Friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable: *You shall reade* (saith he) *that we are* 30

<sup>1</sup> uncultivated<sup>2</sup> usurps the functions of law<sup>3</sup> surely<sup>4</sup> obtain<sup>5</sup> simply<sup>6</sup> well<sup>7</sup> permissible<sup>8</sup> always has the best of it<sup>9</sup> severe<sup>10</sup> negligent

commanded *to forgive our Enemies; But you never read that wee are commanded to forgive our Friends.* But yet the Spirit of Iob was in a better tune; *Shall wee (saith he) take good at God's Hands, and not be content to take evill also?* And so of Friends in a proportion<sup>1</sup>. ) This is certaine, That a Man that studieth Revenge keeps his owne Wounds greene<sup>2</sup>, which otherwise would heale and doe well. Publique Revenges<sup>3</sup> are, for the most part, Fortunate<sup>4</sup>; As that for the Death of Cæsar; For the Death of Pertinax; for the Death of Henry the Third of France; And many more. But in private Revenges it is not so. Nay rather, Vindicative Persons live the Life of Witches, who, as they are Mischievous, So end they Infortunate.

## V

## OF ADVERSITIE

It was an high speech<sup>5</sup> of Seneca, (after the manner of the Stoickes,) That *the good things, which belong to Prosperity, are to be wished; but the good things, that belong to Adversity, are to be admired.* *Bona Rerum Secundarum, Optabilia;* 5 *Adversarum, Mirabilia.* Certainly, if Miracles be the Command over Nature, they appeare most in Adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his then the other, (much too high for a Heathen,) *It is true greatnesse, to have in one<sup>6</sup> the Frailty of a Man and the Security<sup>7</sup> of a God.* *Verè magnum* 10 *habere Fragilitatem Hominis, Securitatem Dei.* This would have done better in Poesy, where Transcendences<sup>8</sup> are more allowed. And the Poets indeed have beene busy with it; For it is, in effect<sup>9</sup>, the thing which is figured in that Strange Fiction of the Ancient Poets, which seemeth not 15 to be without mystery<sup>10</sup>; Nay, and to have some approach

<sup>1</sup> to a proportionate extent<sup>2</sup> open<sup>3</sup> Acts of vengeance undertaken on behalf of the state<sup>4</sup> successful in their issue<sup>5</sup> a proud saying<sup>6</sup> at once<sup>7</sup> freedom from care<sup>8</sup> exaggerations<sup>9</sup> in fact<sup>10</sup> a hidden meaning

to the State of a Christian: That *Hercules, when hee went to unbinde Prometheus*, (by whom Humane Nature is represented) *sailed the length of the great Ocean in an Earthen Pot or Pitcher*; Lively<sup>1</sup> describing Christian Resolution, that saileth in the fraile Barke of the Flesh thorow the 20 Waves of the World. But to speake in a Meane<sup>2</sup>. The Vertue of Prosperitie is Temperance; The Vertue of Adversity is Fortitude; which in Morals is the more Heroicall Vertue. Prosperity is the Blessing of the Old Testament; Adversity is the Blessing of the New; which carrieth the 25 greater Benediction, and the Clearer Revelation of God's Favour. Yet even in the old Testament, if you Listen to David's Harpe, you shall heare as many Herselike<sup>3</sup> Ayres as Carols<sup>4</sup>; And the Pencill of the holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the Afflictions of Iob then the Felicities 30 of Salomon. Prosperity is not without many Feares and Distastes<sup>5</sup>; And Adversity is not without Comforts and Hopes. Wee see in Needle-workes and Imbroideries, It is more pleasing to have a Lively<sup>6</sup> Worke upon a Sad<sup>7</sup> and Solemne Ground then to have a Darke and Melancholy 35 Worke upon a Lightsome Ground: Iudge, therefore, of the Pleasure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Vertue is like pretious Odours, most fragrant, when they are incensed<sup>8</sup>, or crushed: For Prosperity doth best discover<sup>9</sup> Vice; but Adversity doth best discover Vertue. 40

## VI

## OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION

DISSIMULATION is but a faint<sup>10</sup> kind of Policy, or Wisdom; For it asketh<sup>11</sup> a strong Wit<sup>12</sup> and a strong Heart, to

- <sup>1</sup> vividly
- <sup>2</sup> without exaggeration
- <sup>3</sup> funereal
- <sup>4</sup> lively strains
- <sup>5</sup> annoyances
- <sup>6</sup> bright

- <sup>7</sup> dark
- <sup>8</sup> burnt
- <sup>9</sup> bring to light
- <sup>10</sup> feeble
- <sup>11</sup> requires
- <sup>12</sup> understanding

completely understood  
the elaborate plan

7. The first part of the plan is to... (the same)



know when to tell Truth and to doe it. Therefore it is the weaker Sort of Politicks<sup>1</sup> that are the great Dissemblers.

- scrip.<sup>1</sup>  
Late
- 5 Tacitus saith; *Livia sorted<sup>2</sup> well with the Arts<sup>3</sup> of her Husband and Dissimulation of her Sonne*; Attributing Arts or Policy to Augustus, and Dissimulation to Tiberius. And againe, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take Arms against Vitellius, he saith; *We rise not against the Piercing*  
10 *Iudgment of Augustus, nor the Extreme Caution or Closenesse of Tiberius*. These Properties of Arts or Policy, and Dissimulation or Closenesse, are indeed Habits and Faculties severall<sup>4</sup> and to be distinguished. For if a Man have that<sup>5</sup> Penetration of Iudgment as<sup>6</sup> he can discerne what Things  
15 are to be laid open, and what to be secreted<sup>7</sup>, and what to be shewed at Halfe lights<sup>8</sup>, and to whom, and when, (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, as Tacitus well calleth them,) to him a Habit of Dissimulation is a Hindrance and a Poorenesse<sup>9</sup>. But if a Man cannot obtaine<sup>10</sup>  
20 to that Iudgment, then it is left to him, generally<sup>11</sup>, to be Close<sup>12</sup>, and a Dissembler. For where a Man cannot choose or vary in Particulars<sup>13</sup>, there it is good to take the safest and wariest Way in generall; Like the Going softly<sup>14</sup> by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men that  
25 ever were, have had all an Opennesse and Francknesse of dealing, And a name of<sup>15</sup> Certainty, and Veracity; But then they were like Horses well mannaged<sup>16</sup>, For they could tell passing<sup>17</sup> well when to stop or turne: And at such times, when they thought the Case indeed required Dissimulation,  
30 if then they used it, it came to passe that the former Opinion, spread abroad, of their good Faith and Clearnesse<sup>18</sup> of dealing, made them almost Invisible<sup>19</sup>.

There be three degrees of this Hiding and Vailing of

<sup>1</sup> politicians

<sup>2</sup> agreed

<sup>3</sup> diplomacy

<sup>4</sup> different

<sup>5</sup> such

<sup>6</sup> that

<sup>7</sup> kept secret

<sup>8</sup> by twilight

<sup>9</sup> drawback

<sup>10</sup> attain

<sup>11</sup> as a general rule

<sup>12</sup> reserved

<sup>13</sup> adapt his conduct to particular cases

<sup>14</sup> slowly

<sup>15</sup> reputation for

<sup>16</sup> broken in

<sup>17</sup> exceedingly

<sup>18</sup> opennesse

<sup>19</sup> incapable of detection

a Man's Selfe. The first, Closenesse, Reservation, and Secrecy; when a Man leaveth himselfe without Observa- 35  
tion, or without Hold to be taken, what he is. The second, Dissimulation, in the Negative; when a man lets fall Signes and Arguments that he is not that he is. And the third, Simulation, in the Affirmative; when a Man industriously<sup>1</sup> and expressly faigns and pretends to be that he is not. 40

For the first of these, Secrecy; It is indeed, the Vertue of a Confessour; And assuredly, the Secret Man heareth many Confessions; For who will open himselfe to a Blab or a Babler? But if a Man be thought Secret, it inviteth Discoverie<sup>2</sup>; As the more Close Aire sucketh in the more 45  
Open; And, as in Confession the Revealing is not for worldly use, but for the Ease of a Man's Heart, so Secret Men come to the Knowledge of Many Things in that kinde<sup>3</sup>; while Men rather discharge<sup>4</sup> their Mindes then impart their Mindes. In few words, Mysteries are due to Secrecy<sup>5</sup>. Besides (to say Truth) Nakednesse is uncomely, as well in Minde as Body; and it addeth no small Reverence to Men's Manners and Actions, if they be not altogether Open. As for Talkers and Futile<sup>6</sup> Persons, they are commonly Vaine<sup>7</sup> and Credulous withall. For He that talketh 55  
what he knoweth, will also talke what he knoweth not. Therefore set it downe, *That an Habit of Secrecy is both Politick and Morall*. And in this Part<sup>8</sup>, it is good that a Man's Face give his Tongue leave to Speake. For the Discovery<sup>9</sup> of a Man's Selfe, by the Tracts<sup>10</sup> of his Counte- 60  
nance, is a great Weaknesse and Betraying, By how much it is many times<sup>11</sup> more marked and beleevd then a Man's words.

For the Second, which is Dissimulation. It followeth many times upon Secrecy by a necessity; So that he that 65  
will be Secret must be a Dissembler in some degree. For

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<sup>1</sup> purposely

<sup>2</sup> encourages disclosures

<sup>3</sup> in the same fashion

<sup>4</sup> disburden

<sup>5</sup> In short, other people's secrets may be claimed as his due by the man who can keep a secret.

<sup>6</sup> chattering

<sup>7</sup> silly

<sup>8</sup> in this connexion

<sup>9</sup> disclosure

<sup>10</sup> traits

<sup>11</sup> inasmuch as it is often

Men are too cunning to suffer a Man to keepe an indifferent carriage betweene both<sup>1</sup>, and to be Secret, without Swaying the Ballance on either side. They will so beset a man with  
 70 Questions, and draw him on, and picke it out of him, that, without an absurd<sup>2</sup> Silence, he must shew an Inclination one way; Or if he doe not, they will gather as much by his Silence as by his Speech. As for Equivocations, or Oraculous<sup>3</sup> Speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that  
 75 no man can be secret, except he give himselfe a little Scope of Dissimulation; which is, as it were, but the Skirts or Train of Secrecy.

But for the third Degree, which is Simulation and false Profession; That I hold more culpable and lesse politicke;  
 80 except it be in great and rare Matters. And therefore a generall Custome of Simulation (which is this last Degree) is a Vice, rising either of<sup>4</sup> a naturall Falsenesse or Fearefulness, Or of<sup>4</sup> a Minde that hath some maine Faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise  
 85 Simulation in other things, lest his Hand should be out of ure<sup>5</sup>.

The great Advantages of Simulation and Dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleepe Opposition, and to Surprize. For where a Man's Intentions are published, it is an Alarum,  
 90 to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a Man's Selfe a faire Retreat; For if a man engage himselfe by a manifest Declaration, he must goe through, or take a Fall<sup>6</sup>. The third is, the better to discover the Minde of another. For to him that opens himselfe, Men  
 95 will hardly shew themselves adverse; but will (faire)<sup>7</sup> let him goe on, and turne their Freedome of Speech to Freedome of thought. And therefore, it is a good shrewd Proverbe of the Spaniard, *Tell a lye and finde a Troth*. As if there were no way of Discovery, but by Simulation.  
 100 There be also three Disadvantages, to set it even<sup>8</sup>. The first, That Simulation and Dissimulation commonly carry

<sup>1</sup> to carry himself impartially  
 between openness and dissimu-  
 lation

<sup>2</sup> unreasonable

<sup>3</sup> ambiguous

<sup>4</sup> from

<sup>5</sup> practice

<sup>6</sup> suffer defeat

<sup>7</sup> simply

<sup>8</sup> counterbalance

with them a Shew of Fearfulnesse, which in any Businesse doth spoile the Feathers<sup>1</sup> of round<sup>2</sup> flying up to the Mark. The second, that it pusleth and perplexeth the Conceits<sup>3</sup> of many that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, 105 and makes a Man walke almost alone to his owne Ends. The third and greatest is, that it depriveth a Man of one of the most principall Instruments for Action, which is Trust and Beleefe. The best Composition and Temperature<sup>4</sup> is, to have Opennesse in Fame and Opinion<sup>5</sup>; Secrecy in 110 Habit; Dissimulation in seasonable use; And a Power to faigne, if there be no Remedy.

## VII

## OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

THE Ioyes of Parents are Secret, And so are their Griefes and Feares: They cannot utter the one, Nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten Labours, But they make Misfortunes more bitter: They increase the Cares of Life, but they mitigate the Remembrance<sup>6</sup> of 5 Death. The Perpetuity by Generation is common to Beasts; But Memory<sup>7</sup>, Merit, and Noble workes, are proper<sup>8</sup> to Men: And surely a Man shall see the Noblest workes and Foundations<sup>9</sup> have proceeded from Childlesse Men, which have sought to expresse the Images of their 10 Minds, where those of their Bodies have failed; So the care of Posterity is most in them that have no Posterity. They that are the first Raisers of their Houses are most Indulgent towards their Children, Beholding them as the Continuance not only of their kinde<sup>10</sup> but of their Worke; And so both 15 Children, and Creatures<sup>11</sup>.

The difference in Affection of Parents towards their severall Children is many times unequall, And sometimes

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<sup>1</sup> *sc.* of the arrow

<sup>2</sup> direct

<sup>3</sup> thoughts

<sup>4</sup> combination and temperament

<sup>5</sup> a reputation for frankness

<sup>6</sup> thought

<sup>7</sup> being kept in memory

<sup>8</sup> peculiar

<sup>9</sup> institutions

<sup>10</sup> family

<sup>11</sup> created objects

unworthy<sup>1</sup>, Especially in the mother; As Salomon saith, *A*  
 20 *wise sonne reioyceth the Father, but an ungracious sonne*  
*shames the Mother.* A Man shall see, where there is a  
 House full of Children, one or two of the Eldest respected<sup>2</sup>,  
 and the Youngest made wantons<sup>3</sup>; But in the midst,  
 some that are as it were forgotten, who, many times, never-  
 25 thelesse, prove the best. The Illiberalitie of Parents, in  
 allowance towards their Children, is an harmefull Error;  
 Makes them base; Acquaints them with Shifts; Makes  
 them sort<sup>4</sup> with meane Company; And makes them surfet  
 more<sup>5</sup>, when they come to Plenty: And therefore, the  
 30 Proove<sup>6</sup> is best, when Men keepe their Authority towards  
 their Children, but not their Purse. Men have a foolish  
 manner (both Parents, and Schoolemasters, and Servants)  
 in creating and breeding an Emulation between Brothers  
 during Childhood, which many times sorteth to<sup>7</sup> Discord  
 35 when they are Men, And disturbeth Families. The Italians  
 make little difference betweene Children and Nephewes or  
 neere Kinsfolkes; But so<sup>8</sup> they be of the Lumpe<sup>9</sup>, they  
 care not, though they passe not through their owne Body.  
 And, to say Truth, in Nature it is much a like matter; In  
 40 so much that we see a Nephew sometimes resembleth an  
 Uncle or a Kinsman more then his owne Parent, As the  
 Bloud happens. Let Parents choose betimes the Vocations  
 and Courses they meane their Children should take; For  
 then they are most flexible; And let them not too much  
 45 apply themselves<sup>10</sup> to the Disposition of their Children, as  
 thinking they will take best to that which they have most  
 Minde to. It is true that, if the Affection<sup>11</sup> or Aptnesse of  
 the Children be Extraordinary, then it is good not to crosse  
 it; But generally, the Precept is good, (*Optimum elige, suave*  
 50 *et facile illud faciet Consuetudo*<sup>12</sup>). Younger Brothers are  
 commonly Fortunate, but seldome or never where the Elder  
 are disinherited.

<sup>1</sup> unreasonable<sup>2</sup> favoured<sup>3</sup> spoilt<sup>4</sup> associate<sup>5</sup> become more gluttonous<sup>6</sup> result<sup>7</sup> results in<sup>8</sup> provided<sup>9</sup> same stock<sup>10</sup> pay attention<sup>11</sup> liking for a particular vocation<sup>12</sup> Choose what is best: habit  
will make it easy and pleasant.

## VIII

## OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE

( HE that hath Wife and Children hath given Hostages to Fortune;) For they are Impediments to great Enterprises, either of Vertue, or Mischiefe. ) Certainly, the best workes, and of greatest Merit for the Publike, have proceeded from the unmarried or Childlesse Men, which, both in Affection 5 and Meanes, have married and endowed the Publike. Yet it were great Reason<sup>1</sup> that those that have Children should have greatest care of future times, unto which, they know, they must transmit their dearest pledges, Some there are who, though they lead a Single Life, yet their Thoughts 10 doe end with themselves, and account future Times Impertinences<sup>2</sup>. Nay, there are some other that account Wife and Children but as Bills of charges<sup>3</sup>. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous Men that take a pride in having no Children, because<sup>4</sup> they may be thought so much 15 the richer. For, perhaps, they have heard some talke, *Such an one is a great rich Man*; And another except<sup>5</sup> to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of Children*; As if it were an Abatement to his Riches. But the most ordinary cause of a Single Life is Liberty; especially in certaine Selfe- 20 pleasing and humorous<sup>6</sup> Mindes, which are so sensible of every restraint as they will goe neare to thinke<sup>7</sup> their Girdles and Garters to be Bonds and Shackles. Unmarried Men are best Friends, best Masters, best Servants, but not alwayes best Subjects; For they are light<sup>8</sup> to runne away, 25 And almost all Fugitives are of that Condition. A Single Life doth well with Church men<sup>9</sup>; For Charity will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Poole. It is indifferent<sup>10</sup> for Iudges and Magistrates; For if they be

<sup>1</sup> it would be reasonable to think

<sup>2</sup> no concern of theirs

<sup>3</sup> items of expense

<sup>4</sup> in order that

<sup>5</sup> take exception

<sup>6</sup> eccentric

<sup>7</sup> that they will almost think

<sup>8</sup> ready and unencumbered

<sup>9</sup> clergymen

<sup>10</sup> a matter of no consequence either way

30 facile<sup>1</sup> and corrupt, you shall have a Servant five times worse than a Wife. For<sup>2</sup> Souldiers, I finde the Generalls commonly, in their Hortatives<sup>3</sup>, put Men in minde of their Wives and Children: And I thinke the Despising of Marriage, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar<sup>4</sup> souldier  
 35 more base. Certainly, Wife and Children are a kinde of Discipline of Humanity; And single Men, though they be many times more Charitable, because their Meanes are lesse exhaust<sup>5</sup>, yet, on the other side, they are more cruell and hard hearted, (good to make severe Inquisitors), be-  
 40 cause their Tendernesse is not so oft called upon. Grave Natures, led by Custome and therefore constant, are commonly loving Husbands; As was said of Ulysses, *Vetulam suam prætulit Immortalitati*<sup>6</sup>. Chast Women are often Proud and froward<sup>7</sup>, as Presuming upon the Merit of their  
 45 Chastity. It is one of the best Bonds, both of Chastity and Obedience, in the Wife, if She thinke her Husband Wise; which She will never doe, if She finde him Iealous. (Wives are young Men's Mistresses, Companions for middle Age, and old Men's Nurses: So as<sup>8</sup> a Man may have a  
 50 Quarrell<sup>9</sup> to marry, when he will.) But yet, he was reputed one of the wise Men, that made Answer to the Question, When a Man should marry? *A young Man not yet, an Elder Man not at all*. It is often seene that bad Husbands have very good Wives; whether it be that it<sup>10</sup> rayseth the  
 55 Price of their Husbands' Kindnesse, when it comes; Or that the Wives take a Pride in their Patience. But this<sup>11</sup> never failes, if the bad Husbands were of their owne choosing, against their Friends' consent; For then they will be sure to make good<sup>12</sup> their owne Folly.

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<sup>1</sup> easily influenced

<sup>2</sup> As for

<sup>3</sup> exhortations

<sup>4</sup> common

<sup>5</sup> exhausted

<sup>6</sup> He preferred his old wife to  
immortality.

<sup>7</sup> perverse

<sup>8</sup> so that

<sup>9</sup> pretext

<sup>10</sup> i.e. this badness

<sup>11</sup> viz., the pride of the wives in  
their patience

<sup>12</sup> justify

## IX

## OF ENVY

THERE be none of the Affections<sup>1</sup>, which have beene noted<sup>2</sup> to fascinate or bewitch, but Love and Envy. They both have vehement wishes; They frame themselves readily into Imaginations and Suggestions; And they come easily into the Eye, especially upon the presence of the Objects; 5 which are the Points that conduce to Fascination, if any such Thing there be. We see, likewise, the Scripture calleth Envy, An *Evill Eye*; And the Astrologers call the evill Influences of the Starrs, *Evill Aspects*; So that still<sup>3</sup> there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the Act of Envy, an *Eiaculation*<sup>4</sup>, or Irradiation of the Eye. Nay some have beene so curious<sup>5</sup> as to note that the Times when the Stroke or Percussion of an Envious Eye doth most hurt are when the Party envied is beheld in Glory or Triumph; For that sets an Edge upon Envy; And besides, at such 15 times, the Spirits<sup>6</sup> of the person Envied doe come forth most into the outward Parts, and so meet the Blow.

But leaving these Curiosities<sup>7</sup>, (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place,) wee will handle<sup>8</sup> what Persons are apt to envy others; What persons are most Subject to 20 be Envied themselves; And, What is the Difference between Publique and private Envy.

A man that hath no vertue in himselfe ever envieth Vertue in others. For Men's Mindes will either feed upon their owne Good or upon others' Evill; And who wanteth 25 the one wil prey upon the other; And whoso is out of Hope to attaine to another's Vertue will seeke to come at even hand<sup>9</sup> by Depressing another's Fortune<sup>10</sup>.

A man that is Busy<sup>11</sup> and Inquisitive is commonly Envious; For to know much of other Men's Matters cannot 30

<sup>1</sup> feelings<sup>2</sup> observed<sup>3</sup> in each case<sup>4</sup> a darting out<sup>5</sup> minutely careful<sup>6</sup> vital essence<sup>7</sup> subtleties<sup>8</sup> discuss<sup>9</sup> be even with him<sup>10</sup> by trying to ruin him<sup>11</sup> meddlesome



be because all that Adoe<sup>1</sup> may concerne his owne Estate<sup>2</sup>; Therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kinde of plaie-pleasure<sup>3</sup> in looking upon the Fortunes of others; Neither can he that mindeth but his own Businesse finde much  
 35 matter for Envy. For Envy is a Gadding Passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keepe home; *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus*<sup>4</sup>.

Men of Noble birth are noted to be envious towards New Men when they rise. For the distance is altered;  
 40 And it is like a deceit<sup>5</sup> of the Eye, that when others come on they thinke themselves goe backe.

Deformed Persons and Eunuches and Old Men and Bastards are Envious: For he that cannot possibly mend his owne case will doe what he can to impaire another's;  
 45 Except these Defects light upon a very brave and Heroicall Nature, which thinketh to make his Naturall Wants<sup>6</sup> part of his Honour: In that it should be said that an Eunuch or a Lame Man did such great Matters, Affecting<sup>7</sup> the Honour of a Miracle; as it was in Narses the Eunuch, and Agesilaus,  
 50 and Tamberlanes, that were Lame men.

The same is the Case of Men that rise after Calamities and Misfortunes; For they are as Men fallen out with<sup>8</sup> the times, And thinke other Men's Harmes a Redemption of their owne Sufferings.

55 They that desire to excell in too many Matters, out of Levity<sup>9</sup> and Vaine glory, are ever Envious, For they cannot want worke<sup>10</sup>; It being impossible but many, in some one of those Things, should surpasse them: Which was the Character of Adrian the Emperour, that mortally Envied  
 60 Poets and Painters and Artificers in Works wherein he had a veine<sup>11</sup> to excell.

Lastly, neare Kinsfolks, and Fellowes in Office, and those that have beene bred together, are more apt to Envy

<sup>1</sup> fuss<sup>2</sup> affairs<sup>3</sup> pleasure such as one feels in watching a play<sup>4</sup> No one is a busybody without at the same time being spiteful.<sup>5</sup> deception<sup>6</sup> defects<sup>7</sup> aiming at<sup>8</sup> on bad terms with<sup>9</sup> fickleness<sup>10</sup> lack opportunities for exercising their envy<sup>11</sup> an inclination

their Equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their owne Fortunes, And pointeth<sup>1</sup> at them, 65 and commeth oftner into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others<sup>2</sup>; And Envy ever redoubleth from Speech and Fame. Cain's Envy was the more vile and Malignant towards his brother Abel; Because, when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no Body 70 to looke on. Thus much for those that are apt to Envy.

Concerning those that are more or lesse subiect to Envy: First, Persons of eminent Vertue, when they are advanced, are lesse envied. For their Fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man Envieth the Payment of 75 a Debt, but Rewards and Liberality rather. Againe, Envy is ever ioyned with the Comparing of a Man's Selfe; And where there is no Comparison, no Envy; And therfore Kings are not envied, but by Kings. Neverthelesse, it is to be noted that unworthy<sup>3</sup> Persons are most envied at 80 their first comming in, and afterwards overcome it better; wheras, contrariwise, Persons of Worth and Merit are most envied, when their Fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their Vertue be the same, yet it hath not the same Lustre; For fresh Men grow up that darken it<sup>4</sup>. 85

Persons of Noble Blood are lesse envied in their Rising; For it seemeth but Right done to their Birth. Besides, there seemeth not much added to their Fortune; And Envy is as the Sunne Beames, that beat hotter upon a Bank or steepe rising Ground then upon a Flat. And, for the same 90 reason, those that are advanced by degrees are lesse envied then those that are advanced suddainly and *per saltum*<sup>5</sup>.

Those that have ioyned with their Honour great Travels<sup>6</sup>, Cares, or Perills, are lesse subiect to Envy. For Men thinke that they earne their Honours hardly, and pitty 95 them sometimes; And Pitty ever healeth Envy: Wherefore, you shall observe that the more deepe and sober sort of Politique persons<sup>7</sup>, in their Greatnesse, are ever bemoaning themselves, what a Life they lead; Chanting a *Quanta*

<sup>1</sup> in the face<sup>2</sup> at a bound<sup>3</sup> unworthy<sup>4</sup> throw it into the shade<sup>5</sup> at a bound<sup>6</sup> travails, labours<sup>7</sup> politicians

100 *patimur*<sup>1</sup>. Not that they feele it so, but onely to abate<sup>2</sup>  
the Edge of Envy. But this is to be understood of Busi-  
nesse that is laid upon Men, and not such as they call unto  
themselves<sup>3</sup>. For Nothing increaseth Envy more then an  
— unnecessary and Ambitious Ingrossing<sup>4</sup> of Businesse. And  
105 nothing doth extinguish Envy more then for a great Person  
to preserve all other inferiour Officers in their full Rights  
and Preheminences of their Places. For by that meanes  
there be so many Skreenes betweene him and Envy.

Above all, those are most subiect to Envy which carry  
110 the Greatnesse of their Fortunes in an insolent and proud  
Manner; Being never well<sup>5</sup> but while they are shewing how  
great they are, Either by outward Pompe, or by Triumphant  
over all Opposition or Competition; whereas Wise men  
will rather doe sacrifice<sup>6</sup> to Envy, in suffering themselves,  
115 sometimes of purpose<sup>7</sup>, to be crost<sup>8</sup> and overborne in  
things that doe not much concerne them<sup>9</sup>. Notwithstanding,  
so much is true, That the Carriage of Greatnesse, in a  
plaine and open manner (so<sup>10</sup> it be without Arrogancy and  
Vaine glory) doth draw lesse Envy then if it be in a more  
120 crafty and cunning fashion. For, in that course, a Man  
doth but disavow Fortune, And seemeth to be conscious  
of his owne want in worth, And doth but teach others to  
Envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this Part; As we said in the begin-  
125 ning that the Act of Envy had somewhat in it of Witchcraft,  
so there is no other Cure of Envy but the cure of Witchcraft;  
And that is, to remove the Lot<sup>11</sup> (as they call it) and to  
lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser Sort  
of great Persons bring in ever upon the Stage somebody  
130 upon whom to derive<sup>12</sup> the Envie that would come upon  
themselves; Sometimes upon Ministers and Servants;  
Sometimes upon Colleagues and Associates, and the like;  
And, for that turne, there are never wanting some Persons

<sup>1</sup> How much we suffer!

<sup>2</sup> blunt

<sup>3</sup> voluntarily undertake

<sup>4</sup> monopolizing

<sup>5</sup> content

<sup>6</sup> sacrifice something

<sup>7</sup> purposely

<sup>8</sup> thwarted

<sup>9</sup> are unimportant to them

<sup>10</sup> provided that

<sup>11</sup> spell —

<sup>12</sup> turn aside

of violent and undertaking Natures, who, so they may have Power and Businesse, will take it at any Cost. 135

Now to speake of Publique Envy. There is yet some good in Publique Envy; whereas in Private there is none. For Publique Envy is as an Ostracisme, that eclipseth Men when they grow too great. And therefore it is a Bridle also to Great Ones, to keepe them within Bounds. 140

This Envy<sup>1</sup>, being in the Latine word *Invidia*, goeth in the Moderne languages by the name of Discontentment: Of which we shall speake in handling Sedition. It is a disease, in a State, like to Infection. For as Infection spreadeth upon that which is sound and tainteth it, So, 145 when Envy is gotten once into a State, it traduceth even the best Actions thereof and turneth them into an ill Odour. And therefore, there is little won<sup>2</sup> by intermingling of plausible<sup>3</sup> Actions. For that doth argue but a Weaknesse and Feare of Envy, which hurteth so much the more, as it 150 is likewise usuall in Infections, which, if you feare them, you call them upon you.

This publike Envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principall Officers or Ministers rather than upon Kings and Estates<sup>4</sup> themselves. But this is a sure Rule, that if the 155 Envy upon the Minister be great, when the cause of it in him is smal; or if the Envy be generall, in a manner, upon all the Ministers of an Estate; then the Envy (though hidden) is truly upon the State itselfe. And so much of publike envy or discontentment, and the difference therof 160 from Private Envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will adde this, in generall, touching the Affection of Envy, that of all other Affections it is the most importune<sup>5</sup> and continuall. For of other Affections there is occasion given but now and then: And therefore, it was well said, 165 *Invidia festos dies non agit*<sup>6</sup>. For it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted that Love and Envy doe make a man pine, which other Affections doe not, because they are not so continuall. It is also the vilest

<sup>1</sup> viz. Public envy

<sup>2</sup> gained

<sup>3</sup> deserving applause, praise-worthy

<sup>4</sup> governments

<sup>5</sup> importunate

<sup>6</sup> Envy takes no holiday.

170 Affection and the most depraved; For which cause, it is  
 the proper Attribute of the Devill, who is called *The*  
*Envious Man that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night.*  
 As it alwayes commeth to passe that *Envy* worketh subtilly,  
 and in the darke, And to the preiudice of good things, such  
 175 as is the *Wheat*.

## X

## OF LOVE

THE Stage is more beholding<sup>1</sup> to Love then the Life of  
 Man. For as to the Stage, Love is ever matter of Comedies,  
 and now and then of Tragedies: But in Life it doth much  
 mischief, Sometimes like a Syren, Sometimes like a Fury.  
 5 You may observe that amongst all the great and worthy  
 Persons, (whereof the memory remaineth, either Ancient or  
 Recent), there is not One that hath beene transported to  
 ✕ the mad degree of Love; which shewes that great Spirits<sup>2</sup>  
 and great Businesse doe keepe out this weake Passion.  
 10 You must except, neverthesse, Marcus Antonius the halfe  
 Partner of the Empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius the  
 Decemvir and Law-giver; Whereof the former was indeed  
 a Voluptuous Man and Inordinate<sup>3</sup>; but the latter was an  
 Austere and wise man: And therefore it seemes (though  
 15 rarely) that Love can finde entrance, not only into an open  
 Heart, but also into a Heart well fortified, if watch be not  
 well kept. It is a poore Saying of Epicurus, *Satis magnum*  
*Alter Alteri Theatrum sumus*<sup>4</sup>: As if Man, made for the  
 contemplation of Heaven and all Noble Obiects, should  
 20 doe nothing but kneele before a little Idoll, and make  
 himselfe subiect, though not of the Mouth (as Beasts are)  
 yet of the Eye, which was given him for higher Purposes.  
 It is a strange Thing to note the Excesse of this Passion,  
 And how it braves<sup>5</sup> the Nature and value of things, by this,  
 25 that the Speaking in a perpetuall Hyperbole is comely in

<sup>1</sup> beholden, indebted<sup>2</sup> noble natures<sup>3</sup> without self-control<sup>4</sup> We are a large enough theatre  
 for one another.<sup>5</sup> insults, disregards

nothing but in Love. Neither is it meere in the Phrase<sup>1</sup>;  
For whereas it hath beene well said that the Arch-flatterer,  
with whom all the petty Flatterers have Intelligence<sup>2</sup>, is a  
Man's Selfe, Certainly the Lover is more. For there was  
never Proud Man thought so absurdly well of himselfe as 30  
the Lover doth of the Person loved; And therefore it was  
well said, *That it is impossible to love and to be wise.*  
Neither doth this weaknesse appeare to others onely, and  
not to the Party Loved, But to the Loved most of all,  
except the Love be reciproque<sup>3</sup>. For it is a true Rule, 35  
that Love is ever rewarded, either with the Reciproque<sup>4</sup>,  
or with an inward and secret Contempt. By how much the  
more Men ought to beware of this Passion, which loseth  
not only other things but itselfe. As for the other losses,  
the Poet's Relation<sup>5</sup> doth well figure them; That he that 40  
preferred Helena, quitted the Gifts of Iuno and Pallas.  
For whosoever esteemeth too much of Amorous Affection,  
quitteth both Riches and Wisedome. This Passion hath  
his Floods<sup>6</sup> in the very times of Weaknesse, which are  
great Prosperitie and great Adversitie, though this latter 45  
hath beene lesse observed: Both which times kindle Love,  
and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be the  
Childe of Folly. (They doe best, who, if they cannot but  
admit Love, yet make it keepe Quarter<sup>7</sup>.) And sever it  
wholly from their serious Affaires and Actions of life; For 50  
if it checke<sup>8</sup> once with Businesse, it troubleth Men's For-  
tunes, and maketh Men that they can no wayes<sup>9</sup> be true  
to their owne Ends. I know not how; but Martiall Men  
are given to Love: I thinke it is but as they are given to  
Wine, For Perils commonly aske to be paid in Pleasures. 55  
There is in Man's Nature a secret Inclination and Motion  
towards love of others, which, if it be not spent upon some  
one or a few, doth naturally spread it selfe towards many,  
and maketh men become Humane and Charitable, As it is  
seene sometime in Friars. (Nuptiall love maketh Mankinde; 60

<sup>1</sup> language<sup>2</sup> are in league<sup>3</sup> mutual<sup>4</sup> with the return of love<sup>5</sup> story<sup>6</sup> bursts its barriers<sup>7</sup> keep within its proper limits<sup>8</sup> interene<sup>9</sup> in no wise, by no means

Friendly love perfecteth it; but Wanton love Corrupteth and Imbaseth<sup>1</sup> it.)

## XI

## OF GREAT PLACE

*Full of pleasure*  
*quitting place*  
*Longer of it*  
*No plan*

MEN in Great Place<sup>a</sup> are thrice Servants: Servants of the Sovereigne or State; Servants of Fame<sup>b</sup>; and Servants of Businesse: So as<sup>c</sup> they have no Freedome, neither in their Persons, nor in their Actions, nor in their Times. It is a strange desire, to seeke Power and to lose Libertie; Or to seeke Power over others and to lose Power over a Man's Selfe. The Rising unto Place is Laborious, And by Paines Men come to greater Paines; And it is sometimes base, And by Indignities Men come to Dignities. The standing is slippery, and the Regresse is either a downefall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholy Thing. *Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere<sup>d</sup>*. Nay, retire Men cannot when they would; neither will they when it were Reason<sup>e</sup>: But are impatient of privatenesse<sup>f</sup> even in Age and Sicknesse, which require the Shadow<sup>g</sup>; Like old Townesmen, that will be still<sup>h</sup> sitting at their Street doore, though thereby they offer Age to Scorne. Certainly Great Persons had need to borrow other Men's Opinions to thinke themselves happy; For if they iudge by their owne Feeling they cannot finde it: But if they thinke with themselves what other men thinke of them, and that other men would faine be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report, When perhaps they finde the Contrary within. For they are the first that finde their owne Grievs, though they be the last that finde their owne Faults. Certainly, Men in

<sup>1</sup> debases<sup>a</sup> high office<sup>b</sup> reputation<sup>c</sup> so that<sup>d</sup> ('Tis an old saying that) when you are no longer what you once

were, there is no reason why you should wish to live.

<sup>e</sup> reasonable<sup>f</sup> private life<sup>g</sup> a life of indoor retirement<sup>h</sup> always

*altes. ideas in Comment. Ryck. 7. ex p. 22. in.*

Great Fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the pusle<sup>1</sup> of businesse, they have no time to tend their Health either of Body or Minde. *Illi Mors gravis incubat, qui, notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi*<sup>2</sup>. In Place, There is License to doe Good and Evill; wherof 30 the latter is a Curse; For in Evill the best condition is not to will, The Second, not to Can<sup>3</sup>. But Power to doe good is the true and lawfull End of Aspiring. (For good Thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards men are little better then good Dreames, Except they be put in Act;) 35 And that cannot be without Power and Place, As the Vantage and Commanding Ground. Merit and good Works is the End of Man's Motion<sup>4</sup>; And Conscience<sup>5</sup> of the same is the Accomplishment of Man's Rest. For if a Man can be Partaker of God's Theater<sup>6</sup>, he shall like- 40 wise be Partaker of God's Rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret Opera quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis*<sup>7</sup>; And then the Sabbath<sup>8</sup>.

In the Discharge of thy Place, set before thee the best Examples; For Imitation is a Globe<sup>9</sup> of Precepts. And 45 after a time, set before thee thine owne Example; And examine thy selfe strictly, whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same Place; Not to set off thy selfe by taxing<sup>10</sup> their Memory, but to direct thy selfe 50 what to avoid. Reforme, therefore, without Braverie<sup>11</sup> or Scandall<sup>12</sup> of former Times and Persons; but yet set it downe<sup>13</sup> to thy selfe, as well to create good Precedents as to follow them. Reduce<sup>14</sup> things to the first Institution, and

<sup>1</sup> entanglement

<sup>2</sup> Death comes heavily upon him who dies known only too well to everybody else, but a stranger to himself.

<sup>3</sup> be able

<sup>4</sup> the object of man's action

<sup>5</sup> consciousness

<sup>6</sup> For if a man can contemplate, as God did, the spectacle of good works done by himself.

<sup>7</sup> And God turned to behold the works which His hands had made, and He saw that they were all very good.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. rest

<sup>9</sup> compact collection

<sup>10</sup> censuring

<sup>11</sup> ostentation

<sup>12</sup> defamation

<sup>13</sup> propose

<sup>14</sup> Trace up



- 55 observe wherein and how they have degenerate<sup>1</sup> but yet aske Counsell of both Times; Of the Ancient Time, what is best, and of the Latter Time, what is fittest. Seeke to make thy Course Regular<sup>2</sup>, that Men may know before hand what they may expect; But be not too positive<sup>3</sup> and  
 60 peremptorie; And expresse thy selfe well<sup>4</sup>, when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preserve the Right of thy Place; but stirre not questions of Iurisdiction: And rather assume thy Right in Silence and *de facto*<sup>5</sup> then voice it<sup>6</sup> with Claimes and Challenges. Preserve likewise the Rights of  
 65 Inferiour Places; And thinke it more Honour to direct in chiefe then to be busie in all. Embrace and invite Helps and Advices touching the Execution of thy Place<sup>7</sup>; And doe not drive away such as bring thee Information as Medlers, but accept of them in good part.
- 70 The vices of Authoritie are chiefly foure: Delaies; Corruption; Roughnesse; and Facilitie<sup>8</sup>. For<sup>9</sup> Delaies, Give easie Access; Keepe times appointed; Goe through with that which is in hand; And interlace not businesse<sup>10</sup> but<sup>11</sup> of necessitie. For<sup>9</sup> Corruption, Doe not onely binde  
 75 thine owne Hands, or thy Servants' hands, from taking, but binde the hands of Sutours also from offring. For Integritie used<sup>12</sup> doth the one; but Integritie professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other. And avoid not onely the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is found  
 80 variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest Cause, giveth Suspicion of Corruption. Therefore, alwayes, when thou changest thine Opinion or Course, professe it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons that move thee to change; And doe not thinke to steale it<sup>13</sup>. A Servant,  
 85 or a Favorite, if hee be inward<sup>14</sup>, and no other apparent Cause of Esteeme, is commonly thought but a By-way to

<sup>1</sup> degenerated<sup>2</sup> according to fixed rules<sup>3</sup> rigid<sup>4</sup> explain your reasons clearly<sup>5</sup> in fact<sup>6</sup> assert it<sup>7</sup> the administration of your office.<sup>8</sup> weakness<sup>9</sup> As regards<sup>10</sup> do not mix up business<sup>11</sup> except<sup>12</sup> the practice of integrity<sup>13</sup> that you can do it by stealth<sup>14</sup> intimate

close<sup>1</sup> Corruption. For Roughnesse, It is a needlesse cause of Discontent: Severitie breedeth Feare, but Roughnesse breedeth Hate. Even Reproofes from Authoritie ought to be Grave and not Taunting. As for Facilitie<sup>2</sup>, It is worse then Bribery<sup>3</sup>. For Bribes come but now and then; But if Importunitie or Idle Respects<sup>4</sup> lead a Man, he shall never be without. As Salomon saith, *To respect Persons is not good; For such a man will transgresse for a peece of Bread.* 95

It is most true, that was anciently spoken; *A place sheweth the Man*: And it sheweth some to the better and some to the worse: *Omnium consensu capax Imperij, nisi imperasset*<sup>5</sup>, saith Tacitus of Galba: but of Vespasian he saith, *Solus Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius*<sup>6</sup>; 100 Though the one was meant of Sufficiencie<sup>7</sup>, the other of Manners and Affection<sup>8</sup>. It is an assured Signe of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom Honour amends. For Honour is, or should be, the Place of Vertue; And as in Nature Things move violently to their Place, and calmly 105 in their Place, So Vertue in Ambition<sup>9</sup> is violent, in Authoritie setled and calme. All Rising to Great Place is by a winding Staire; And if there be Factions, it is good to side a Man's selfe<sup>10</sup>, whilst hee is in the Rising, and to ballance Himselfe<sup>11</sup>, when hee is placed. Use the Memory of thy 110 Predecessour fairely and tenderly; For if thou dost not, it is a Debt will sure be paid, when thou art gone<sup>12</sup>. If thou have Colleagues, respect them, and rather call them<sup>13</sup> when they looke not for it then exclude them when they have reason to looke to be called. Be not too sensible<sup>14</sup> or too 115 remembring<sup>15</sup> of thy Place, in Conversation and private

<sup>1</sup> secret<sup>2</sup> pliancy<sup>3</sup> receiving bribes<sup>4</sup> personal preferences<sup>5</sup> By common consent he would have been deemed fit for empire had he never been emperor.<sup>6</sup> Vespasian was the only emperor that was changed for the better by empire.<sup>7</sup> administrative capacity<sup>8</sup> morals and disposition<sup>9</sup> in seeking office<sup>10</sup> to take a side.<sup>11</sup> to be neutral<sup>12</sup> i.e. your successor will pay the same meagre tribute to your own memory.<sup>13</sup> call them in to your assistance<sup>14</sup> sensitive<sup>15</sup> obtrusively mindful

Answers to Sutours; But let it rather be said, *When he sits in Place<sup>1</sup>, he is another Man.*

## XII

## OF BOLDNESSE

IT<sup>2</sup> is a triviall<sup>3</sup> Grammar Schoole Text<sup>4</sup>, but yet worthy a wise Man's Consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes, *What was the Chiefe Part<sup>5</sup> of an Oratour?* He answered, *Action*; what next? *Action*; what next again? *Action*. He said it, that knew it best, And had by nature himselfe no Advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that Part of an Oratour which is but superficiall, and rather the vertue of a Player, should be placed so high above those other Noble Parts of Invention, Elocution, and  
 10 the rest; Nay, almost alone, as if it were All in All. But the Reason is plaine. There is in Humane Nature generally more of the Foole then of the Wise; And therfore those faculties by which the Foolish part of Men's Mindes is taken are most potent. Wonderfull<sup>6</sup> like is the Case of  
 15 Boldnesse in Civill Businesse; What first? Boldnesse; What Second, and Third? Boldnesse. And yet Boldnesse is a Childe of Ignorance and Basenesse, farre inferiour to other Parts. But, neverthelesse, it doth fascinate, and binde hand and foot those that are either shallow in Iudg-  
 20 ment or weake in Courage, which are the greatest Part; Yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weake times. Therfore, we see it hath done wonders in Popular<sup>7</sup> States, but with Senates and Princes lesse; And more ever upon the first entrance of Bold Persons into Action then soone  
 25 after; For Boldnesse is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are Mountebanques for the Naturall Body, So are there Mountebanques for the Politique<sup>8</sup> Body; Men that

<sup>1</sup> When he is performing his official duties

<sup>2</sup> *vis.* the story which follows

<sup>3</sup> well-known

<sup>4</sup> quotation

<sup>5</sup> qualification

<sup>6</sup> wonderfully

<sup>7</sup> democratic

<sup>8</sup> political

undertake great Cures, And perhaps have been Lucky in two or three Experiments, but want the Grounds<sup>1</sup> of Science, And therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you shall see a Bold Fellow, many times, doe Mahomet's Miracle. Mahomet made the People beleieve that he would call an Hill to him, And from the Top of it offer up his Praiers for the Observers of his Law. The People assembled; Mahomet cald the Hill to come to him, againe and againe; And when the Hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, *If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet wil go to the hil.* So these Men, when they have promised great Matters, and failed most shamefully, (yet if they have the perfection of Boldnesse) they will but slight it over<sup>2</sup>, and make a turne<sup>3</sup>, and no more adoe. Certainly, to Men of great Iudgment, Bold Persons are a Sport to behold; Nay, and to the Vulgar also, Boldnesse hath somewhat of the Ridiculous. For if Absurdity be the Subiect of Laughter, doubt you not but great Boldnesse is seldome without some Absurdity. Especially, it is a Sport to see, when a Bold Fellow is out of Countenance; For that puts his Face into a most Shruncken and wooden Posture; As needes it must; For in Bashfulness<sup>4</sup>, the Spirits<sup>5</sup> doe a little goe and come; but with Bold Men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay<sup>6</sup>; Like a Stale at Chesse, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stirre. But this last were fitter for a Satyre then for a serious Observation. This is well to be weighed, That Boldnesse is ever blinde; For it seeth not dangers and Inconveniencies. Therefore, it is ill in Counsell, good in Execution: So that the right Use of Bold Persons is, that they never Command in Chiefe, but be Seconds and under the Direction of others. For in Counsell it is good to see dangers, And in Execution not to see them, except they be very great.

<sup>1</sup> are without the principles<sup>2</sup> make light of it<sup>3</sup> take a new tack<sup>4</sup> i.e. in the case of a bashful

man

<sup>5</sup> the vital spirits<sup>6</sup> they come to a standstill

## XIII

## OF GOODNESSE AND GOODNESSE OF NATURE

I TAKE Goodnesse in this Sense, the affecting of<sup>1</sup> the Weale of Men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia*; And the word Humanitie<sup>2</sup> (as it is used) is a little too light to expresse it. Goodnesse I call the Habit, and Goodnesse  
 5 of Nature the Inclination. This, of all Vertues and Dignities of the Minde, is the greatest, being the Character<sup>3</sup> of the Deitie: And without it Man is a Busie<sup>4</sup>, Mischievous, Wretched Thing, No better then a Kinde of Vermine. Goodnesse answers<sup>5</sup> to the Theologicall Vertue Charitie<sup>6</sup>,  
 10 and admits no Excesse but Errour. The desire of Power in Excesse caused the Angels to fall; The desire of Knowledge in Excesse caused Man to fall; But in Charity there is no Excesse; Neither can Angell or Man come in danger by it. The Inclination to Goodnesse is imprinted deeply  
 15 in the Nature of Man; In so much that, if it issue not towards Men, it will take unto Other Living Creatures; As it is seen in the Turks, a Cruell People who, neverthesse, are kinde to Beasts and give Almes to Dogs and Birds; In so much as<sup>7</sup> Busbechius reporteth, A Christian Boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned, for gagging, in a waggishnesse<sup>8</sup>, a long Billed Fowle. Errours, indeed, in this vertue of Goodnesse or Charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious Proverb; *Tanto buon che val niente: So good that he is good for nothing.* And one  
 25 of the Doctors of Italy, Nicholas Macchiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plaine Termes, *That the Christian Faith had given up Good Men in prey to those that are Tyrannicall and uniust.* Which he spake, because indeed there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did so  
 30 much magnifie Goodnesse as the Christian Religion doth.

<sup>1</sup> aiming at  
<sup>2</sup> Kindliness  
<sup>3</sup> mark  
<sup>4</sup> restless

<sup>5</sup> corresponds  
<sup>6</sup> love  
<sup>7</sup> that  
<sup>8</sup> for fun

Therefore, to avoid the Scandall and the Danger both, it is good to take knowledge of<sup>1</sup> the Errours of an Habit so excellent. Seeke the Good of other Men, but be not in bondage to their Faces or Fancies; For that is but Facilitie<sup>2</sup> or Softnesse; which taketh an honest Minde Prisoner. 35 Neither give thou Æsop's Cocke a Gemme, who would be better pleased and happier if he had had a Barly Corne. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: *He sendeth his Raine, and maketh his Sunne to shine, upon the Iust and Uniust*; But hee doth not raine Wealth, nor shine Honour 40 and Vertues<sup>3</sup> upon Men equally. Common Benefits are to be communicate with all, But peculiar Benefits, with choice. And beware how, in making the Portraiture, thou breakest the Patterne; For Divinitie<sup>4</sup> maketh the Love of our Selves the Patterne; The Love of our Neighbours but 45 the Portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poore, and follow mee*: But sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow mee; That is, except thou have a Vocation, wherein thou maist doe as much good with little meanes as with great: For otherwise, in feeding the Streames thou 50 driest the Fountaine. Neither is there only a Habit of Goodnesse, directed by right Reason; but there is, in some Men, even in Nature, a Disposition towards it: As, on the other side, there is a Naturall Malignitie. For there be that, in their Nature, doe not affect the Good of Others. 55 The lighter Sort of Malignitie turneth but to a Crosnesse<sup>5</sup>, or Frowardnesse<sup>6</sup>, or Aptnesse to oppose, or Difficilnesse<sup>7</sup>, or the like; but the deeper Sort, to Envy and meere Mischiefe<sup>8</sup>. Such Men, in other men's Calamities, are, as it were, in season<sup>9</sup>, and are ever on the loading Part<sup>10</sup>; Not so good as the Dogs, that licked Lazarus' Sores, but like 60 Flies that are still<sup>11</sup> buzzing upon any Thing that is raw; *Misanthropi*<sup>12</sup>, that make it their Practise to bring Men to

<sup>1</sup> notice<sup>2</sup> weakness<sup>3</sup> nor cause honour and virtues to shine<sup>4</sup> divine teaching<sup>5</sup> perversity<sup>6</sup> waywardness<sup>7</sup> intractability<sup>8</sup> sheer injury<sup>9</sup> in their element<sup>10</sup> always aggravate calamities<sup>11</sup> always<sup>12</sup> misanthropes

the Bough<sup>1</sup>, And yet have never a Tree for the purpose in  
 65 their Gardens, as Timon had. Such Dispositions are the  
 very Errours of Humane Nature; And yet they are the  
 fittest Timber to make great Politiques<sup>2</sup> of; Like to knee<sup>3</sup>  
 Timber, that is good for Ships that are ordained to be  
 tossed, But not for Building houses that shall stand firme.  
 70 The Parts and Signes of Goodnesse are many. If a Man  
 be Gracious and Curteous to Strangers, it shewes he is a  
 Citizen of the World, And that his Heart is no Island, cut  
 off from other Lands, but a Continent that ioynes to them.  
 If he be Compassionate towards the Afflictions of others,  
 75 it shewes that his Heart is like the noble Tree, that is  
 wounded it selfe when it gives the Balme. If he easily  
 Pardons and Remits Offences, it shews that his Minde is  
 planted above Iniuries<sup>4</sup>, So that he cannot be shot. If he  
 be Thankfull for small Benefits, it shewes that he weighes  
 80 Men's Mindes, and not their Trash<sup>5</sup>. But above all, if he  
 have St. Paul's Perfection, that he would wish to be an  
*Anathema* from Christ<sup>6</sup>, for the Salvation of his Brethren, it  
 shewes much of a Divine Nature, and a kinde of Conformity  
 with Christ himselfe.

## XIV

## OF NOBILITY

WE will speake of Nobility, first as a Portion of an  
 Estate<sup>7</sup>; Then as a Condition of Particular Persons<sup>8</sup>. A  
 Monarchy, where there is no Nobility at all, is ever a pure  
 and absolute Tyranny; As that of the Turkes. For Nobi-  
 5 lity attempters<sup>9</sup> Sovereignty, and drawes the Eyes of the  
 People somewhat aside from the Line Royall. But for<sup>10</sup>  
 Democracies, they need it not; And they are commonly

<sup>1</sup> to induce people to hang them-  
 selves

<sup>2</sup> politicians

<sup>3</sup> crooked

<sup>4</sup> above the reach of injuries

<sup>5</sup> rubbish, used contemptuously

for money

<sup>6</sup> accursed from Christ

<sup>7</sup> a state

<sup>8</sup> of individuals

<sup>9</sup> moderates

<sup>10</sup> as regards

more quiet, and lesse subiect to Sedition then where there are Stirps<sup>1</sup> of Nobles. For Men's Eyes are upon the Businesse, and not upon the Persons; Or if upon the 10 Persons, it is for the Businesse sake, as fittest, and not for Flags<sup>2</sup> and Pedegree. Wee see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their Diversitie of Religion and of Cantons. For Utility is their Bond, and not Respects<sup>3</sup>. The United Provinces of the Low Countries, in their Government, 15 excell; For where there is an Equality, the Consultations are more indifferent<sup>4</sup>, and the Payments and Tributes more cheerfull. A great and Potent Nobility addeth Maiestie to a Monarch, but diminisheth Power; And putteth Life and Spirit into the People, but presseth<sup>5</sup> their Fortune. It is 20 well, when Nobles are not too great for Sovereignty, nor for Iustice; And yet maintained in that heighth as<sup>6</sup> the Insolencie of Inferiours may be broken upon them<sup>7</sup>, before it come on too fast<sup>8</sup> upon the Maiesty of Kings. A Numerous Nobility causeth Poverty and Inconvenience in a 25 State: For it is a Surcharge of Expencc<sup>9</sup>; And besides, it being of Necessity that many of the Nobility fall in time to be weake in Fortune, it maketh a kinde of Disproportion betweene Honour and Meanes.

As for Nobility in particular Persons; It is a Reverend 30 Thing to see an Ancient Castle or Building not in decay, Or to see a faire Timber Tree, sound and perfect: How much more, to behold an Ancient Noble Family, which hath stood against the Waves and weathers of Time. For new Nobility is but the Act of Power, But Ancient Nobility 35 is the Act of Time. Those that are first raised to Nobility are commonly more Vertuous<sup>10</sup> but lesse Innocent then their Descendants; For there is rarely any Rising, but by a Commixture of good and evill Arts<sup>11</sup>. But it is Reason<sup>12</sup> the Memory of their vertues remaine to their Posterity, 40

<sup>1</sup> families<sup>2</sup> insignia, armorial bearings<sup>3</sup> respect for rank<sup>4</sup> impartial<sup>5</sup> depresses<sup>6</sup> at such a height that<sup>7</sup> may spend its force upon the

nobles

<sup>8</sup> close<sup>9</sup> an excessive expense<sup>10</sup> more highly endowed with

great qualities

<sup>11</sup> practices<sup>12</sup> reasonable that



And their Faults die with themselves. Nobility of Birth commonly abateth<sup>1</sup> Industry; And he that is not industrious envieth him that is. Besides, Noble persons cannot goe much higher; And he that standeth at a stay<sup>2</sup>, when others  
 45 rise, can hardly avoid Motions<sup>3</sup> of Envy. On the other side, Nobility extinguisheth the passive Envy from others towards them<sup>4</sup>, Because they are in possession of Honour. Certainly Kings, that have Able men of<sup>5</sup> their Nobility, shall finde ease in imploying them, And a better Slide into  
 50 their Businesse<sup>6</sup>; For People naturally bend to them, as born in some sort to Command.

## XV

## OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES

SHEPHERDS of People had need know the Kalenders<sup>7</sup> of Tempests in State, which are commonly greatest, when Things grow to Equality; As Naturall Tempests are greatest about the *Æquinotia*. And as there are certaine hollow  
 5 Blasts of Winde and secret Swellings of Seas before a Tempest, so are there in States:

—*Ille etiam cæcos instare Tumultus  
 Sæpe monet, Fraudesque, et operta tumescere Bella*<sup>8</sup>.

Libels and licentious Discourses against the State, when  
 10 they are frequent and open, And in like sort false Newes, often running up and downe, to the disadvantage of the State, and hastily embraced, are amongst the Signes of Troubles. Virgil, giving the Pedegre of Fame<sup>9</sup>, saith, *She was sister to the Giants*.

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<sup>1</sup> checks

<sup>2</sup> remains where he is

<sup>3</sup> impulses

<sup>4</sup> nobility preserves those who possess it from being envied by others

<sup>5</sup> amongst

<sup>6</sup> less friction in their affairs

<sup>7</sup> accurate forecasts

<sup>8</sup> The Sun it is who often betrays the stealthy approach of battle alarms, the heavings of treason and concealed rebellion.

<sup>9</sup> Rumour

*Illam Terra Parens irâ irritata Deorum,*  
*Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque sororem*  
*Progeniit<sup>1</sup>.* 15

As if Fames<sup>2</sup> were the Reliques of Seditions past; But they are no lesse, indeed, the preludes of Seditions to come. Howsoever, he noteth it right, that Seditious Tumults and Seditious Fames differ no more but as Brother and Sister, Masculine and Feminine; Especially, if it come to that, that the best Actions of a State, and the most plausible<sup>3</sup>, and which ought to give greatest Contentment, are taken in ill Sense, and traduced: For that shewes the Envy great, as Tacitus saith, *Conflata magna Invidia, seu benè seu malè gesta premunt<sup>4</sup>*. Neither doth it follow that because these Fames are a signe of Troubles, that the suppressing of them, with too much Severity, should be a Remedy of Troubles. For the Despising of them, many times, checks them best, and the Going about<sup>5</sup> to stop them doth but make a Wonder Long-lived. Also that kinde of Obedience, which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari quàm exequi<sup>6</sup>*; Disputing, Excusing, Cavilling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kinde of shaking off the yoake and Assay of<sup>7</sup> disobedience; Especially, if in those disputings, they, which are for<sup>8</sup> the direction, speake fearefully and tenderly<sup>9</sup>, And those that are against it, audaciously. 40

Also, as Macciavel noteth well; when Princes, that ought to be Common Parents<sup>10</sup>, make themselves as a Party and leane to a side, it is as a Boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one Side; As was well seen, in

<sup>1</sup> Earth, her parent, provoked to anger against the gods, brought her forth, they say, the youngest of the family, sister of Coeus and Enceladus.

<sup>2</sup> false rumours

<sup>3</sup> deserving of applause, laudable

<sup>4</sup> When great unpopularity is once aroused, people find fault with acts whether good or bad.

<sup>5</sup> endeavour

<sup>6</sup> They were attentive to their duties, yet in such a way as to show that they were disposed to put their own interpretation on their general's orders rather than to carry them out.

<sup>7</sup> attempt at

<sup>8</sup> in favour of

<sup>9</sup> timidly and weakly

<sup>10</sup> parents to all

45 the time of Henry the third of France; For first, himselfe entred League for the Extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after, the same League was turned upon Himselfe. For when the Authority of Princes is made but an Accessary to a Cause, And that there be other Bands<sup>1</sup> that tie faster  
50 then the Band of Sovereignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.

Also, when Discords and Quarrells and Factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a Signe the Reverence of<sup>2</sup> Government is lost. For the Motions of the greatest  
55 persons in a Government ought to be as the Motions of the Planets under *Primum Mobile*, (according to the old Opinion,) which is, That Every<sup>3</sup> of them is carried swiftly by the Highest Motion, and softly in their owne Motion. And therefore, when great Ones, in their owne particular  
60 Motion, move violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, *Liberius quàm ut Imperantium meminissent*<sup>4</sup>, It is a Signe the Orbs are out of Frame<sup>5</sup>: For Reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God, Who threatneth the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula Regum*<sup>6</sup>.

65 So when any of the foure Pillars of Government are mainly<sup>7</sup> shaken or weakned (which are Religion, Iustice, Counsell, and Treasure,) Men had need to pray for Faire Weather. But let us passe from this Part of Predictions<sup>8</sup>, (Concerning which, neverthelesse, more light may be taken,  
70 from that which followeth,) And let us speake first of the Materials of Seditions; Then of the Motives of them; And thirdly of the Remedies.

Concerning the Materialls of Seditions. It is a Thing well to be considered: For the surest way to prevent Sedi-  
75 tions, (if the Times doe beare it<sup>9</sup>), is to take away the Matter of them. For if there be Fuell prepared, it is hard to tell whence the Spark shall come that shall set it on

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<sup>1</sup> bonds

<sup>2</sup> for

<sup>3</sup> every one

<sup>4</sup> more freely than is consistent with respect for their rulers

<sup>5</sup> disordered

<sup>6</sup> I will loose the girdles of

kings.

<sup>7</sup> violently

<sup>8</sup> i.e. from this part of the subject, viz. predictions

<sup>9</sup> allow the removal of their causes

Fire. The Matter of Seditions is of two kindes ; Much Poverty and Much Discontentment. It is certaine, so many Overthrowne Estates<sup>1</sup>, so many Votes for Troubles. 80 Lucan noteth well the State of Rome before the Civill Warre :

*Hinc Usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fœnus,  
Hinc concussa Fides, et multis utile Bellum<sup>2</sup>.*

This same *Multis utile Bellum* is an assured and in- 85 fallible Signe of a State disposed to Seditions and Troubles. And if this Poverty and Broken Estate, in the better Sort, be ioyned with a Want and Necessity in the meane People<sup>3</sup>, the danger is imminent and great. For the Rebellions of the Belly<sup>4</sup> are the worst. As for Discontentments, they are 90 in the Politique Body like to Humours in the Naturall, which are apt to gather a preternaturall Heat and to Enflame. And let no Prince measure the Danger of them by this, whether they be Iust, or Uniust? For that were to imagine People to be too reasonable, who doe often 95 spurne at their owne Good ; Nor yet by this, whether the Griefes, wherupon they rise<sup>5</sup>, be in fact great or small ; For they are the most dangerous Discontentments, where the Feare is greater then the Feeling. *Dolendi Modus, Timendi non item<sup>6</sup>*. Besides, in great Oppressions, the same Things 100 that provoke the Patience doe withall mate<sup>7</sup> the Courage ; But in Feares it is not so. Neither let any Prince or State be secure<sup>8</sup> concerning Discontentments, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no Perill hath ensued ; For as it is true that every Vapor or Fume<sup>9</sup> doth 105 not turne into a Storme, So it is, neverthesse, true that Stormes, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last ; And as the Spanish Proverb noteth well ; *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The Causes and Motives of Seditions are,—Innovation 110

<sup>1</sup> fortunes

<sup>2</sup> Hence sprang devouring usury, and interest rapidly becoming due ; hence shaken credit, and war that was a boon to many.

<sup>3</sup> lower classes

<sup>4</sup> due to hunger

<sup>5</sup> i.e. rise in rebellion

<sup>6</sup> There is a limit to pain but no limit to fear.

<sup>7</sup> at the same time overpower

<sup>8</sup> careless

<sup>9</sup> smoke

in Religion; Taxes; Alteration of Lawes and Customes; Breaking of Priviledges; Generall Oppression; Advancement of unworthy persons; Strangers; Dearths; Disbanded Souldiers; Factions growne desperate; And whatsoever in  
 115 offending People ioyneth and knitteth them in a Common Cause.

For<sup>1</sup> the Remedies; There may be some generall Preservatives, whereof wee will speake; As for the iust<sup>2</sup> Cure, it must answer to the Particular Disease; And so be left to  
 120 Counsell rather then Rule.

The first Remedy or prevention is to remove by all meanes possible that materiall Cause<sup>3</sup> of Sedition, wherof we spake; which is Want and Poverty in the Estate<sup>4</sup>. To which purpose serveth the Opening and well Ballancing of  
 125 Trade; The Cherishing<sup>5</sup> of Manufactures; the Banishing of Idlenesse; the Repressing of waste and Excesse by Sumptuary Lawes; the Improvement and Husbanding<sup>6</sup> of the Soyle; the Regulating of Prices of things vendible; the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes; And the like.  
 130 Generally, it is to be foreseene<sup>7</sup> that the Population of a Kingdome, (especially if it be not mowen downe by warrs) doe not exceed the Stock<sup>8</sup> of the Kingdome, which should maintaine them. Neither is the Population to be reckoned onely by number; For a smaller Number, that spend more  
 135 and earne lesse, doe weare out an Estate sooner then a greater Number, that live lower<sup>9</sup> and gather more. Therefore the Multipling of Nobilitie and other Degrees of Qualitie<sup>10</sup>, in an over Proportion to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessitie; And so doth  
 140 likewise an overgrowne Clergie, For they bring nothing to the Stocke; And in like manner, when more are bred Schollers then Preferments can take off<sup>11</sup>.

It is likewise to be remembered that, for as much as the increase of any Estate<sup>12</sup> must be upon<sup>13</sup> the Forrainer, (for

<sup>1</sup> As for

<sup>2</sup> exact

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* the cause which is the matter or ground of the sedition

<sup>4</sup> state

<sup>5</sup> encouragement

<sup>6</sup> cultivation

<sup>7</sup> precautions should be taken

<sup>8</sup> produce

<sup>9</sup> more economically

<sup>10</sup> rank

<sup>11</sup> appointments can absorb

<sup>12</sup> state

<sup>13</sup> at the expense of

whatsoever is some where gotten is some where lost) There 145  
 be but three Things which one Nation selleth unto another ;  
 The Commoditie as Nature yeeldeth it ; The Manufacture ;  
 and the Vecture or Carriage. So that if these three wheel-  
 goe, Wealth will flow as in a Spring tide. And it commeth  
 many times to passe that *Materiam superabit Opus*<sup>1</sup>, That 150  
 the Worke and Carriage is more worth then the Materiall,  
 and enricheth a State more ; As is notably seene in the  
 Low-Country-men, who have the best Mines, above ground,  
 in the World.

Above all things, good Policie is to be used, that the 155  
 Treasure and Moneyes in a State be not gathered into few  
 Hands. For otherwise, a State may have a great Stock  
 and yet starve. And Money is like Muck<sup>2</sup>, not good  
 except it be spread. This is done, chiefly, by suppressing,  
 or, at the least, keeping a strait<sup>3</sup> Hand upon the Devouring 160  
 Trades of Usurie, Ingrossing<sup>4</sup>, great Pasturages, and the like.

For Removing Discontentments, or at least the danger  
 of them ; There is in every State (as we know) two Portions  
 of Subiects, The Noblesse and the Commonaltie. When  
 one of these is Discontent<sup>5</sup>, the danger is not great ; For 165  
 Common People are of slow Motion, if they be not excited  
 by the Greater Sort<sup>6</sup> ; And the Greater Sort are of small  
 strength, except the Multitude be apt and ready to move  
 of themselves. Then is the danger, when the Greater Sort  
 doe but wait for the Troubling of the Waters amongst the 170  
 Meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The Poets  
 faigne that the rest of the Gods would have bound Iupiter ;  
 which he hearing of, by the Counsell of Pallas sent for  
 Briareus, with his hundred Hands, to come in to his  
 Aid : An Embleme, no doubt, to shew how safe<sup>7</sup> it is for 175  
 Monarchs to make sure of the good Will of Common  
 People.

To give moderate Liberty for Griefes and Discontent-  
 ments to evaporate, (so<sup>8</sup> it be without too great Insolency

<sup>1</sup> The workmanship will be  
 worth more than the materials.

<sup>2</sup> manure

<sup>3</sup> strict

<sup>4</sup> monopolizing

<sup>5</sup> discontented

<sup>6</sup> upper classes

<sup>7</sup> salutary

<sup>8</sup> provided that

180 or Bravery<sup>1</sup>;) is a safe Way. For he that turneth the Humors backe and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth<sup>2</sup> maligne Ulcers and pernicious Impostumations<sup>3</sup>.

The Part of Epimetheus mought well become Pro-  
185 metheus in the case of Discontentments, For there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when Griefes and Evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the Bottome of the Vessell. Certainly, the Politique and Artificiall<sup>4</sup> Nourishing and Entertaining of Hopes, and  
190 Carrying Men from Hopes to Hopes, is one of the best Antidotes against the Poyson of Discontentments. And it is a certaine Signe of a wise Government and Proceeding, when it can hold Men's hearts by Hopes, when it cannot by Satisfaction<sup>5</sup>; And when it can handle things in such  
195 manner as no Evill shall appeare so peremptory<sup>6</sup> but that it hath some Out-let of Hope; Which is the lesse hard to doe, because both particular Persons<sup>7</sup> and Factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave<sup>8</sup> that, which they beleeve not.

200 Also, the Foresight, and Prevention, that there be no likely or fit Head whereunto Discontented Persons may resort, and under whom they may ioyne, is a knowne but an excellent Point of Caution. I understand a fit Head to be one that hath Greatnesse and Reputation; That hath  
205 Confidence with<sup>9</sup> the Discontented Party; and upon whom they turne their Eyes; And that is thought discontented in his own particular<sup>10</sup>; which kinde of Persons are either to be wonne and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true manner; Or to be fronted<sup>11</sup> with some other of  
210 the same Party, that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the Dividing and Breaking of all Factions and Combinations that are adverse to the State,

<sup>1</sup> bravado

<sup>2</sup> runs the risk of

<sup>3</sup> abscesses

<sup>4</sup> artful

<sup>5</sup> granting their demands  
ructive, or inevitable

<sup>7</sup> both individuals

<sup>8</sup> make a parade of

<sup>9</sup> is trusted by

<sup>10</sup> discontented about the posi-  
tion of his own affairs

<sup>11</sup> confronted

and setting them at distance<sup>1</sup>, or at least distrust amongst themselves, is not one of the worst Remedies. For it is a desperate Case, if those that hold with the Proceeding of 215 the State be full of Discord and Faction; And those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted that some witty<sup>2</sup> and sharpe Speeches, which have fallen from Princes, have given fire to Seditions. Cæsar did himselfe infinite Hurt, in that Speech, *Sylla* 220 *nescivit Literas, non potuit dictare*<sup>3</sup>: For it did utterly cut off that Hope, which Men had entertained, that he would, at one time or other, give over his Dictatorship. Galba undid himselfe by that Speech, *Legi à se Militem, non emi*<sup>4</sup>: For it put the Souldiers out of Hope of the Donative. 225 Probus likewise, by that Speech, *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus*<sup>5</sup>; A Speech of great Despaire for the Souldiers: And many the like. Surely, Princes had need, in tender<sup>6</sup> Matters and Ticklish Times, to beware what they say; Especially in these short Speeches, 230 which flie abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat<sup>7</sup> Things and not so much noted.

Lastly, let Princes, against all Events<sup>8</sup>, not be without some Great Person, one, or rather more, of Military Valour 235 neere unto them, for the Repressing of Seditions in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be<sup>9</sup> more trepidation in Court upon the first Breaking out of Troubles then were fit. And the State runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith; *Atque is Habitus animorum fuit, ut* 240 *pessimum facinus auderent Pauci, Plures vellent, Omnes paterentur*<sup>10</sup>. But let such Military Persons be Assured<sup>11</sup>, and well reputed of, rather then Factious and Popular<sup>12</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> at enmity

<sup>2</sup> smart

<sup>3</sup> Sulla did not know his letters and could not 'dictate.'

<sup>4</sup> That it was his practice to levy soldiers, not to buy them.

<sup>5</sup> If I live, the Roman Empire shall have no further need of soldiers.

<sup>6</sup> delicate

<sup>7</sup> dull

<sup>8</sup> in case of any emergency

<sup>9</sup> there is usually

<sup>10</sup> Such was the state of men's feelings that, while there were few to venture on a deed so foul, most men wished it done and all acquiesced in it.

<sup>11</sup> trustworthy

<sup>12</sup> popularity-hunters



Holding also good Correspondence with<sup>1</sup> the other Great  
 245 Men in the State, Or else the Remedie is worse then the  
 Disease.

## XVI

## OF ATHEISME

I HAD rather beleeeve all the Fables in the Legend, and  
 the Talmud, and the Alcoran, then that this universall  
 Frame is without a Minde. And, therefore, God never  
 wrought Miracle to convince<sup>2</sup> Atheisme, because his Ord-  
 5 nary Works convince it. It is true that a little Philosophy  
 inclineth Man's Minde to Atheisme; But depth in Philo-  
 sophy bringeth Men's Mindes about<sup>3</sup> to Religion: For  
 while the Minde of Man looketh upon Second<sup>4</sup> Causes  
 Scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and goe no  
 10 further: But when it beholdeth the Chaine of them, Con-  
 federate<sup>5</sup> and Linked together, it must needs flie to Provi-  
 dence and Deitie. Nay, even that Schoole, which is most  
 accused of Atheisme, doth most demonstrate Religion;  
 That is, the Schoole of Leucippus, and Democritus, and  
 15 Epicurus. For it is a thousand times more Credible that  
 foure Mutable Elements, and one Immutable Fift Essence,  
 duly and Eternally placed, need no God, then that an  
 Army of Infinite small Portions or Seedes<sup>6</sup> unplaced<sup>7</sup>  
 should have produced this Order and Beauty without a  
 20 Divine Marshall. The Scripture saith, *The Foole hath said  
 in his Heart, there is no God*: It is not said, *The Foole hath  
 thought in his Heart*: So as<sup>8</sup> he rather saith it by rote to  
 himselfe, as that he would have<sup>9</sup>, then that he can throughly  
 beleeeve it, or be perswaded of it. For none deny there  
 25 is a God but those for whom it maketh<sup>10</sup> that there were

<sup>1</sup> bearing a due proportion to

<sup>2</sup> refute

<sup>3</sup> round

<sup>4</sup> efficient, immediate

<sup>5</sup> united

<sup>6</sup> atoms

<sup>7</sup> in fortuitous concurrence

<sup>8</sup> so that

<sup>9</sup> as what he would wish to  
 have

<sup>10</sup> for whose advantage it would  
 be

no God. It appeareth in nothing more that Atheisme is rather in the Lip then in the Heart of Man then by this, That Atheists will ever be talking of that their Opinion<sup>1</sup>, as if they fainted<sup>2</sup> in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthned by the Consent of others; Nay 30 more, you shall have Atheists strive to get Disciples, as it fareth with other Sects; And, which is most<sup>3</sup> of all, you shall have of them that<sup>4</sup> will suffer for Atheisme, and not recant; Whereas, if they did truly thinke that there were no such Thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? 35 Epicurus is charged, that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed, There were Blessed Natures<sup>5</sup>, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to<sup>6</sup> the Government of the World; Wherin they say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God. 40 But certainly, he is traduced, For his Words are Noble and Divine: *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi Opiniones Dijs applicare profanum*<sup>7</sup>. Plato could have said no more. And although he had the Confidence<sup>8</sup> to deny the Administration<sup>9</sup>, he had not the Power to deny the 45 Nature<sup>10</sup>. The Indians of the West have Names for their particular Gods, though they have no name for God: As if the Heathens should have had the Names Iupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c., But not the Word *Deus*; which shewes that even those Barbarous People have the Notion, though they 50 have not the Latitude and Extent of it. So that against Atheists, the very Savages take part with the very subtillest Philosophers. The Contemplative<sup>11</sup> Atheist is rare; A Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and some others; And yet they seeme to be more then they are; For that<sup>12</sup> all that 55 Impugne a received Religion, or Superstition, are, by the adverse Part, branded with the Name of Atheists. But

<sup>1</sup> of that opinion of theirs

<sup>2</sup> they felt but slight confidence

<sup>3</sup> most remarkable

<sup>4</sup> you will find some who

<sup>5</sup> divine beings

<sup>6</sup> without concerning themselves about

<sup>7</sup> It is not profane to deny the existence of the gods of the people;

profanity consists rather in attributing to the gods the opinions of the people.

<sup>8</sup> boldness

<sup>9</sup> divine government

<sup>10</sup> divine nature

<sup>11</sup> theoretic

<sup>12</sup> because

the great Atheists, indeed<sup>1</sup>, are Hypocrites, which are ever Handling Holy Things, but without Feeling; So as<sup>2</sup> they  
60 must needs be cauterized<sup>3</sup> in the End.

The Causes of Atheisme are; Divisions in Religion, if they be many; For any one maine Division addeth Zeale to both Sides, But many Divisions introduce Atheisme. Another is, Scandall of<sup>4</sup> Priests, When it is come to that  
65 which S. Bernard saith, *Non est iam dicere, ut Populus, sic Sacerdos: quia nec sic Populus, ut Sacerdos*<sup>5</sup>. A third is, Custome of Profane Scoffing in Holy Matters, which doth, by little and little, deface the Reverence of Religion. And lastly, Learned Times, specially with Peace and Prosperity:  
70 For Troubles and Adversities doe more bow Men's Mindes to Religion. They that deny a God destroy Man's Nobility; For certainly, Man is of Kinne to the Beasts by his Body; And if he be not of Kinne to God by his Spirit, he is a Base and Ignoble Creature. It destroies likewise  
75 Magnanimity and the Raising of Humane Nature; For take an Example of a Dog, And mark what a Generosity<sup>6</sup> and Courage he will put on, when he findes himselfe maintained<sup>7</sup> by a Man, who to him is in stead of a God, or *Melior Natura*<sup>8</sup>; which courage is manifestly such as that  
80 Creature, without that Confidence of<sup>9</sup> a better Nature then his owne, could never attaine. So Man, when he resteth and assureth himselfe<sup>10</sup> upon divine Protection and Favour, gathereth a Force and Faith, which Humane Nature in it selfe could not obtaine. Therefore, as Atheisme is in all  
85 respects hatefull, so<sup>11</sup> in this, that it depriveth humane Nature of the Meanes to exalt it selfe above Humane Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations: Never was there such a State for Magnanimity as Rome: Of this State heare what Cicero saith; *Quam volumus, licet,*  
90 *patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos,*

<sup>1</sup> in reality

<sup>2</sup> so that

<sup>3</sup> have their consciences seared

<sup>4</sup> caused by

<sup>5</sup> One cannot now say, 'as the people so the priest,' for the people are not as bad as the

priest.

<sup>6</sup> nobleness

<sup>7</sup> backed up

<sup>8</sup> a superior nature

<sup>9</sup> belief in

<sup>10</sup> relies

<sup>11</sup> so is it also

*nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso huius Gentis et Terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed Pietate, ac Religione, atque hâc unâ Sapientiâ, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationes-<sup>95</sup> que superavimus<sup>1</sup>.*

## XVII

## OF SUPERSTITION

It were better to have no Opinion<sup>2</sup> of God at all then such an Opinion as is unworthy of him: For the one is Unbeleefe, the other is Contumely: And certainly Superstition is the Reproach of<sup>3</sup> the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose; *Surely* (saith he) *I had rather, a great deale,* <sup>5</sup> *Men should say there was no such Man at all as Plutarch, then that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his Children, as soon as they were born,* as the Poets speake of Saturne. And, as the Contumely is greater towards God, so the Danger is greater towards Men. <sup>10</sup> Atheisme leaves a Man to Sense, to Philosophy, to Naturall Piety<sup>4</sup>, to Lawes, to Reputation; All which may be Guides to an outward Morall vertue, though Religion were not<sup>5</sup>; But Superstition dismounts<sup>6</sup> all these, and erecteth an absolute Monarchy in the Mindes of Men. Therefore <sup>15</sup> Atheisme did never perturb States; For it makes Men wary of themselves, as looking no further<sup>7</sup>: And we see

<sup>1</sup> We may esteem ourselves, Conscript Fathers, as highly as we please; yet we cannot match the Spaniards in numbers, the Gauls in bodily strength, the Carthaginians in cunning, the Greeks in art, or indeed our own Italians and Latins in the domestic and native affection which characterizes this land and nation. But our piety, and religion, and recognition of the one great truth that all things are regulated and directed

by the providence of the immortal gods,—these are points in which we have surpassed all peoples, civilised and uncivilised alike.

<sup>2</sup> no definite opinion

<sup>3</sup> a reproach against

<sup>4</sup> natural affection

<sup>5</sup> religion were absent

<sup>6</sup> deposes

<sup>7</sup> because they have nothing to consider beyond their present interests

the times enclined to Atheisme (as the Time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil Times<sup>1</sup>. But Superstition hath beene  
 20 the Confusion of many States, And bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile* that ravisheth<sup>2</sup> all the Spheares of Government. The Master of Superstition is the People; And in all Superstition, Wise Men follow Fooles; And Arguments are fitted to Practise, in a reversed Order. It was gravely  
 25 said by<sup>3</sup> some of the Prelates, in the Councell of Trent, where the doctrine of the Schoolemen bare great Sway, *That the Schoolemen were like Astronomers, which did faigne Eccentricks and Epicycles, and such Engines of Orbs, to save the Phenomena<sup>4</sup>, though they knew there were no such Things;*  
 30 And, in like manner, that the Schoolmen had framed a Number of subtile and intricate Axiomes and Theorems, to save the practise of the Church. The Causes of Superstition are;—Pleasing and sensuall Rites<sup>5</sup> and Ceremonies; Excesse of Outward and Pharisaicall Holinesse; Over-great  
 35 Reverence of<sup>6</sup> Traditions, which cannot but load<sup>7</sup> the Church; The Stratagems of Prelates for their owne Ambition and Lucre; The Favouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits<sup>8</sup> and Novelties; The taking an Aime<sup>9</sup> at divine Matters by Human, which  
 40 cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations<sup>10</sup>; And lastly, Barbarous Times, Especially ioyned with Calamities and Disasters. Superstition, without a vaile, is a deformed Thing; For, as it addeth deformity to an Ape to be so like a Man, So the Similitude of Superstition to Religion makes  
 45 it the more deformed: And as wholesome Meat corrupteth to little Wormes, So good Formes and Orders corrupt into a Number of petty Observances. There is a Superstition in avoiding Superstition, when men thinke to doe best if they goe furthest from the Superstition formerly received:

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<sup>1</sup> times of tranquillity

<sup>2</sup> carries along with it

<sup>3</sup> It was a weighty saying of

<sup>4</sup> orbits so devised as to be consistent with astronomical phenomena

<sup>5</sup> rites which appeal to the senses

<sup>6</sup> for

<sup>7</sup> be a burden to

<sup>8</sup> caprices

<sup>9</sup> guessing

<sup>10</sup> a confused conception of matters between which there is no real analogy

Therefore, Care would be had<sup>1</sup> that, (as it fareth<sup>\*</sup> in ill 50  
Purgings) the Good be not taken away with the Bad;  
which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer.

## XVIII

OF TRAVAILE<sup>3</sup>

TRAVAILE<sup>3</sup>, in the younger Sort<sup>4</sup>, is a Part of Educa-  
tion; In the Elder, a Part of Experience. He that  
travaileth into a Country, before he hath some Entrance  
into<sup>5</sup> the Language, goeth to Schoole, and not to Travaile.  
That Young Men travaile under some Tutor, or grave  
Servant, I allow well<sup>6</sup>; So that<sup>7</sup> he be such a one that  
hath<sup>8</sup> the Language and hath been in the Country before;  
whereby he may be able to tell them what Things are  
worthy to be seene in the Country where they goe; what  
Acquaintances they are to seeke; What Exercises or dis- 10  
cipline the Place yeeldeth<sup>9</sup>. For else young Men shall goe  
hooded<sup>10</sup>, and looke abroad little. It is a strange Thing  
that in Sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seene but  
Sky and Sea, Men should make Diaries; but in Land-  
Travaile, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most 15  
part they omit it; As if Chance were fitter to be registred  
then Observation<sup>11</sup>. Let Diaries, therefore, be brought in  
use. The Things to be seene and observed are:—The  
Courts of Princes, specially when they give Audience to  
Ambassadors; The Courts of Iustice, while they sit and 20  
heare Causes; And so of Consistories Ecclesiasticke<sup>12</sup>; The  
Churches, and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are  
therein extant; The Wals and Fortifications of Cities and  
Townes; And so the Havens and Harbours; Antiquities

<sup>1</sup> ought to be exercised<sup>2</sup> happens<sup>3</sup> Travel<sup>4</sup> in the case of young people<sup>5</sup> he has made some progress

in

<sup>6</sup> I quite approve<sup>7</sup> provided that<sup>8</sup> knows<sup>9</sup> affords<sup>10</sup> blindfolded<sup>11</sup> *i.e.* the things which they go  
to see<sup>12</sup> ecclesiastical assemblies

25 and Ruines; Libraries; Colledges, Disputations, and Lectures, where any are; Shipping and Navies; Houses, and Gardens of State and Pleasure<sup>1</sup>, neare great Cities; Armories; Arsenals; Magazens; Exchanges; Burses<sup>2</sup>; Warehouses; Exercises of Horsemanship; Fencing; Trayning  
 30 of Souldiers; and the like: Comedies, Such wherunto the better Sort of persons doe resort; Treasuries of Jewels and Robes; Cabinets and Rarities; And, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the Places where they goe. After all which the Tutors or Servants ought to make diligent  
 35 Enquirie. As for Triumphs<sup>3</sup>, Masques, Feasts, Weddings, Funeralls, Capitall Executions, and such Shewes, Men need not to be put in mind of them; Yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a Young Man to put his Travaile into a little Roome, and in short time to gather  
 40 much, this you must doe. (First, as was said, he must have some Entrance into the Language, before he goeth. Then he must have such a Servant, or Tutor, as knoweth the Country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some Card<sup>4</sup> or Booke describing the Country where he  
 45 travelleth, which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him keepe also a Diary. Let him not stay long in one City or Towne; More or lesse as the place deserveth, but not long: Nay, when he stayeth in one City or Towne, let him change his Lodging from one End and Part of the  
 50 Towne to another, which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance<sup>5</sup>. Let him sequester himselfe from the Company of his Country men, and diet<sup>6</sup> in such Places where there is good Company of the Nation where he travaileth. Let  
 55 him, upon his Removes from one place to another, procure Recommendation to some person of Quality, residing in the Place whither he removeth, that he may use his Favour in those things he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his Travaile with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in Travaile; That which is most  
 60 of all profitable is Acquaintance with the Secretaries and

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<sup>1</sup> pleasant gardens

<sup>2</sup> ants

<sup>4</sup> chart, map

<sup>5</sup> loadstone to attract friends

<sup>6</sup> board

Employd Men<sup>1</sup> of Ambassadors; For so in Travailing in one Country he shall sucke the Experience of many. Let him also see and visit Eminent Persons in<sup>2</sup> all Kindes, which are of great Name abroad, That he may be able to tell how the Life agreeth with the Fame. For<sup>3</sup> Quarels; 65 they are with Care and Discretion to be avoided: They are, commonly, for Mistresses; Healths<sup>4</sup>; Place<sup>5</sup>; and Words<sup>6</sup>. And let a Man beware how he keepeth Company with Cholerick and Quarlesome Persons; for they will engage him into<sup>7</sup> their owne Quarels. When a Travailer 70 returneth home, let him not leave the Countries, where he hath Travailed, altogether behinde him, But maintaine a Correspondence, by letters, with those of his Acquaintance which are of most Worth. And let his Travaile appeare rather in his Discourse then in his Apparrell or Gesture; 75 And in his Discourse, let him be rather advised<sup>8</sup> in his Answers then forwards to tell Stories: And let it appeare that he doth not change his Country Manners<sup>9</sup> for those of Forraigne Parts; But onely prick in<sup>10</sup> some Flowers, of that he hath Learned abroad, into the Customes of his 80 owne Country.

## XIX

## OF EMPIRE

It is a miserable State of Minde to have few Things to desire and many Things to feare; And yet that commonly is the Case of Kings, Who, being at the highest, want Matter of desire, which makes their Mindes more Languishing; And have many Representations<sup>11</sup> of Perills and 5 Shadowes, which makes their Mindes the lesse cleare. And this is one Reason also of that Effect which the

<sup>1</sup> attachés<sup>2</sup> of<sup>3</sup> As regards<sup>4</sup> toasts<sup>5</sup> precedence<sup>6</sup> *i.e.* insulting words<sup>7</sup> entangle him in<sup>8</sup> deliberate<sup>9</sup> the manners of his own country<sup>10</sup> implant<sup>11</sup> suspicious fancies



Scripture speaketh of, *That the King's Heart is inscrutable.* For Multitude of Iealousies, and Lack of some predominant  
 10 desire that should marshall and put in order all the rest, maketh any Man's Heart hard to finde or sound. Hence it comes likewise that Princes, many times, make themselves Desires, and set their Hearts upon toyes<sup>1</sup>: Sometimes upon a Building; Sometimes upon Erecting of<sup>2</sup> an Order; Some-  
 15 times upon the Advancing of a Person; Sometimes upon obtaining Excellency in some Art or Feat of the Hand; As Nero for playing on the Harpe, Domitian for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, Commodus for playing at Fence, Caracalla for driving Chariots, and the like. This seemeth  
 20 incredible unto those that know not the Principle, *That the Minde of Man is more cheared and refreshed by profitting<sup>3</sup> in small things then by standing at a stay<sup>4</sup> in great.* We see also that Kings, that have been fortunate Conquerours in their first yeares,—it being not possible for them to goe  
 25 forward infinitely, but that they must have some Checke or Arrest in their Fortunes,—turne in their latter yeares to be Superstitious and Melancholy; As did Alexander the Great, Dioclesian, And in our memory, Charles the Fift; And others: For he that is used to goe forward, and findeth a  
 30 Stop, falleth out of his owne favour, and is not the Thing he was.

To speake now of the true Temper of Empire<sup>5</sup>: It is a Thing rare, and hard to keep: For both Temper and Distemper consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to  
 35 mingle Contraries, another to enterchange them. The Answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of Excellent Instruction. Vespasian asked him, *What was Nero's overthrow?* He answered, *Nero could touch and tune the Harpe well; But in Government, sometimes he used to winde the*  
 40 *pins too high, sometimes to let them downe too low.* And certaine it is that Nothing destroieth Authority so much as the unequall and untimely Enterchange of Power Pressed too farre, and Relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter Times

<sup>1</sup> trifles

<sup>2</sup> instituting

<sup>3</sup> making progress

<sup>4</sup> standing still

<sup>5</sup> blend of qualities required for successful government

in Princes' Affaires is rather fine Deliveries<sup>1</sup>, and Shiftings 45  
 of Dangers and Mischiefes, when they are neare, then solid  
 and grounded Courses to keepe them aloofe. But this is  
 but to try Masteries with<sup>2</sup> Fortune: And let men beware  
 how they neglect and suffer Matter of Trouble to be pre-  
 pared: For no Man can forbid the Sparke, nor tell whence 50  
 it may come. The difficulties in Princes' Businesse are  
 many and great; But the greatest difficulty is often in  
 their owne Minde. For it is common with Princes, (saith  
 Tacitus) to will Contradictories: *Sunt plerumque Regum*  
*voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ*<sup>3</sup>. For it is the 55  
 Solœcisme of Power<sup>4</sup>, to thinke to Command the End and  
 yet not to endure the Meane<sup>5</sup>.

Kings have to deale with their Neighbours, their Wives,  
 their Children, their Prelates or Clergie, their Nobles, their  
 Second-Nobles or Gentlemen, their Merchants, their Com- 60  
 mons, and their Men of Warre<sup>6</sup>; And from all these arise  
 Dangers, if Care and Circumspection be not used.

First for<sup>7</sup> their Neighbours; There can no generall Rule  
 be given, (The Occasions are so variable,) save one, which  
 ever holdeth; which is, That Princes doe keepe due Centi- 65  
 nell that none of their Neighbours doe overgrow so, (by  
 Encrease of Territory, by Embracing of Trade<sup>8</sup>, by Ap-  
 proaches<sup>9</sup>, or the like) as<sup>10</sup> they become more able to annoy  
 them then they were. And this is, generally, the work of  
 Standing Counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that 70  
 Triumvirate of Kings, King Henry the VIII. of England,  
 Francis the I. King of France, and Charles the V. Emperour,  
 there was such a watch kept, that none of the Three could  
 win a Palme<sup>11</sup> of Ground, but the other two would straight-  
 waies ballance it, either by Confederation, or, if need were, 75  
 by a Warre; And would not, in any wise, take up Peace

<sup>1</sup> ingenious devices for escaping  
 from difficult situations

<sup>2</sup> to measure one's strength  
 against

<sup>3</sup> The desires of kings are usually  
 violent and incongruous.

<sup>4</sup> blunder of rulers

<sup>5</sup> means

<sup>6</sup> soldiers

<sup>7</sup> with regard to

<sup>8</sup> by attracting to themselves  
 trade

<sup>9</sup> by encroachments

<sup>10</sup> that

<sup>11</sup> hand's-breadth

at Interest<sup>1</sup>. And the like was done by that League (which, Guicciardine saith, was the Security of Italy) made betwene Ferdinando King of Naples, Lorenzious Medices, 80 and Ludovicus Sforza, Potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Millaine. Neither is the Opinion of some of the Schoole-Men to be received, *That a warre cannot iustly be made but upon a precedent Iniury, or Provocation*. For there is no Question but a iust Feare of an Imminent 85 danger, though there be no Blow given, is a lawfull Cause of a Warre.

For<sup>2</sup> their Wives; There are Cruell Examples of them. Livia is infamed<sup>3</sup> for the poysoning of her husband; Roxolana, Solyman's Wife, was the destruction of that renowned 90 Prince, Sultan Mustapha, And otherwise troubled his House and Succession; Edward the Second of England his Queen had the principall hand in the Deposing and Murder of her Husband. This kinde of danger is then to be feared, chiefly, when the Wives have Plots for the Raising of their 95 owne Children, Or else that<sup>4</sup> they be Advoutresses<sup>5</sup>.

For<sup>6</sup> their Children: The Tragedies, likewise, of<sup>6</sup> dangers from them, have been many. And generally, the Entring of Fathers into Suspicion of their Children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named 100 before) was so fatall to Solyman's Line, as<sup>7</sup> the Succession of the Turks, from Solyman untill this day, is suspected to be untrue and of strange Bloud; For that<sup>8</sup> Selymus the Second was thought to be Supposititious. The destruction of Crispus, a young Prince of rare Towardnesse<sup>9</sup>, by 105 Constantinus the Great his Father, was in like manner fatall to his House; For both Constantinus and Constance, his Sonnes, died violent deaths; And Constantius his other Sonne did little better; who died, indeed, of Sicknesse, but after that Iulianus had taken Armes against him. The 110 destruction of Demetrius, Sonne to Philip the Second, of Macedon, turned upon the Father, who died of Repentance.

<sup>1</sup> purchase present peace at great  
future cost

<sup>2</sup> As regards

<sup>3</sup> infamous

<sup>4</sup> when

<sup>5</sup> adulteresses

<sup>6</sup> due to

<sup>7</sup> that

<sup>8</sup> inasmuch as

<sup>9</sup> docility

And many like Examples there are; But few, or none, where the Fathers had good<sup>1</sup> by such distrust, Except it were, where the Sonnes were up in open Armes against them; As was Selymus the First against Baiazet; And the 115 three Sonnes of Henry the Second, King of England.

For<sup>2</sup> their Prelates; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them: As it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury; who, with their Crosiars, did almost try it<sup>3</sup> with the King's 120 Sword; And yet they had to deale with Stout and Haughty Kings, William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that State<sup>4</sup>, but where it hath a dependance of forraine Authority<sup>5</sup>; Or where the Churchmen come in and are elected, not by the Collation<sup>6</sup> 125 of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For<sup>7</sup> their Nobles; To keepe them at a distance it is not amisse; But to depresse them may make a King more Absolute, but lesse Safe, And lesse able to performe any thing that he desires. I have noted it, in my History of 130 King Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his Nobility; Whereupon it came to passe that his Times were full of Difficulties and Troubles; For the Nobility, though they continued loyall unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his Businesse. So that, in effect, he was faine 135 to doe all things, himselfe.

For<sup>8</sup> their Second Nobles<sup>9</sup>; There is not much danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high<sup>8</sup>, but that doth little Hurt: Besides, they are a Counterpoize to the Higher Nobility, that they grow 140 not<sup>9</sup> too Potent: And lastly, being the most immediate in Authority with the Common People, they doe best temper Popular Commotions.

For<sup>9</sup> their Merchants; They are *Vena porta*; And if they flourish not, a Kingdome may have good Limmes, 145

<sup>1</sup> were benefited

<sup>2</sup> As regards

<sup>3</sup> enter on a conflict

<sup>4</sup> viz. the clerical order

<sup>5</sup> except in cases where the clergy derive their support from

foreign authority

<sup>6</sup> appointment

<sup>7</sup> inferior nobles, or perhaps the gentry

<sup>8</sup> talk large

<sup>9</sup> preventing them from growing

but will have empty Veines, and nourish little<sup>1</sup>. Taxes and Imposts upon them doe seldome good to the King's Revenew; For that that he winnes in the Hundred, he leeseth<sup>2</sup> in the Shire; The particular Rates being increased,  
 150 but the totall Bulke of Trading rather decreased.

For<sup>3</sup> their Commons; There is little danger from them, except it be, where they have Great and Potent Heads; Or where you meddle with the Point of Religion, Or their Customes, or Meanes of Life.

155 For<sup>4</sup> their Men of warre<sup>4</sup>; It is a dangerous State where they live and remaine in a Body and are used to Donatives<sup>5</sup>; whereof we see Examples in the Ianizaries and Pretorian Bands of Rome: But Traynings of Men, and Arming them in severall places, and under severall<sup>6</sup> Com-  
 160 manders, and without Donatives, are Things of Defence, and no Danger.

Princes are like to Heavenly Bodies, which cause good or evill times; And which have much Veneration, but no Rest. All precepts concerning Kings are in effect com-  
 165 prehended in those two Remembrances: *Memento quod es Homo*<sup>7</sup>, And *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice Dei*<sup>8</sup>: The one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.

## XX

## OF COUNSELL

THE greatest Trust, betweene Man and Man is the Trust of Giving Counsell. For in other Confidences, Men commit the parts of life; Their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular Affaire; But to such  
 5 as they make their Counsellours, they commit the whole:

<sup>1</sup> get little nourishment

<sup>2</sup> loses

<sup>3</sup> As regards

<sup>4</sup> soldiers

<sup>5</sup> largesses

<sup>6</sup> separate

<sup>7</sup> Remember that you are a man:

<sup>8</sup> Remember that you are a God, or God's representative.

By how much the more they are obliged<sup>1</sup> to all Faith and integrity. The wisest Princes need not thinke it any diminution to their Greatnesse, or derogation to their Sufficiency<sup>2</sup>, to rely upon Counsell. God himselfe is not without, But hath made it one of the great Names of his <sup>10</sup> blessed Sonne; *The Counsellour*. Salomon hath pronounced that *In Counsell is Stability*. Things will have their first, or second Agitation; If they be not tossed upon the Arguments of Counsell, they will be tossed upon the Waves of Fortune, And be full of Inconstancy<sup>3</sup>, doing and <sup>15</sup> undoing<sup>4</sup>, like the Reeling of a drunken Man. Salomon's Sonne found the Force of Counsell, as his Father saw the Necessity of it. For the Beloved Kingdome of God was first rent and broken by ill Counsell; Upon which Counsell there are set, for our Instruction, the two Markes, whereby <sup>20</sup> Bad Counsell is for ever best discerned; That it was young Counsell for<sup>5</sup> the Persons, And Violent Counsell for<sup>5</sup> the Matter.

The Ancient Times doe set forth in Figure, both the Incorporation and inseparable Coniunction of Counsell with <sup>25</sup> Kings, And the wise and Politique use of Counsell by Kings: The one, in that they say Iupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth Counsell; Whereby they intend<sup>6</sup> that Sovereignty is married to Counsell: The other, in that which followeth, which was thus: They say, after Iupiter was <sup>30</sup> married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with Childe; but Iupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; Wherby he became himselfe with Child, and was delivered of Pallas Armed, out of his Head. Which monstrous Fable containeth a Secret of Empire; <sup>35</sup> How Kings are to make use of their Councell of State: That first, they ought to referre matters unto them, which is the first Begetting or Impregnation; But when they are elaborate<sup>7</sup>, moulded, and shaped, in the Wombe of their Councell, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth, <sup>40</sup> That then they suffer not their Councell to goe through

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<sup>1</sup> counsellors are bound<sup>2</sup> ability<sup>3</sup> inconsistency<sup>4</sup> first done and then undone<sup>5</sup> as regards<sup>6</sup> by which they signify<sup>7</sup> elaborated

with the Resolution<sup>1</sup> and direction, as if it depended on them, But take the matter backe into their owne Hands, and make it appeare to the world, that the Decrees and  
 45 finall Directions, (which, because they come forth with Prudence and Power, are resembled to<sup>2</sup> Pallas Armed) proceeded from themselves; And not onely from their Authority, but (the more to adde Reputation to Them-selves) from their Head and Device.

50 Let us now speake of the Inconveniences of Counsell, and of the Remedies. The Inconveniences, that have been noted in calling and using Counsell, are three. First, the Revealing of Affaires, whereby they become lesse Secret. Secondly, the Weakning of the Authority of Princes, as if  
 55 they were lesse of Themselves<sup>3</sup>. Thirdly, the Danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsell then of him that is counselled. For which Inconveniences, the Doctrine<sup>4</sup> of Italy, and Practise of France, in some Kings' times, hath introduced Cabinet  
 60 Counsels<sup>5</sup>; A Remedy worse then the Disease.

As to Secrecy; Princes are not bound to communicate all Matters with all Counsellors, but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary that he that consulteth what he should doe, should declare what he will doe. But let  
 65 Princes beware that the unsecreting<sup>6</sup> of their Affaires comes not from Themselves. And as for Cabinet Counsels, it may be their Motto, *Plenus rimarum sum*<sup>7</sup>: One futile<sup>8</sup> person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will doe more hurt then many, that know it their duty to conceale. It is true,  
 70 there be some Affaires, which require extreme Secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the King<sup>9</sup>: Neither are those Counsels unprosperous: For besides the Secrecy, they commonly goe on constantly<sup>10</sup> in one Spirit of Direction, without distraction. But then it

<sup>1</sup> final decision

<sup>2</sup> compared with

<sup>3</sup> less capable of themselves

<sup>4</sup> teaching

<sup>5</sup> private meetings of favoured advisers

<sup>6</sup> disclosure

<sup>7</sup> Full of chinks am I.

<sup>8</sup> talkative

<sup>9</sup> and secrecy will with difficulty be preserved, if the secret is known to more than one or two persons besides the king:

<sup>10</sup> consistently

must be a Prudent King, such as is able to Grinde with 75  
a Hand-Mill<sup>1</sup>; And those Inward<sup>2</sup> Counsellors had need  
also be Wise Men, and especially true and trusty to the  
King's Ends; As it was with King Henry the Seventh of  
England, who in his greatest Businesse imparted himself to  
none, except it were to Morton and Fox. 80

For<sup>3</sup> Weakening of Authority; The Fable<sup>4</sup> sheweth the  
Remedy. Nay, the Maiesty of Kings is rather exalted then  
diminished, when they are in the Chaire of Counsell:  
Neither was there ever Prince bereaved of his Dependances<sup>5</sup>  
by his Counsell, Except where there hath beene either an 85  
Overgreatnesse in one Counsellour, Or an Overstrict Com-  
bination in Divers<sup>6</sup>; which are Things soone found and  
holpen<sup>7</sup>.

For<sup>8</sup> the last Inconvenience, that Men will Counsell  
with an Eye to themselves; Certainly, *Non inveniet Fidem* 90  
*super terram*<sup>8</sup> is meant of the Nature of Times<sup>9</sup>, and not  
of all particular Persons. There be that are in Nature  
Faithfull and Sincere, and Plaine and Direct, Not Crafty  
and Involved: Let Princes, above all, draw to themselves  
such Natures. Besides, Counsellours are not Commonly so 95  
united, but that one Counsellour keepeth Centinell over  
Another; So that if any do Counsell out of Faction<sup>10</sup>, or  
private Ends, it commonly comes to the King's Eare. But  
the best Remedy is, if Princes know their Counsellours as  
well as their Counsellours know Them: 100

*Principis est Virtus maxima nosse suos*<sup>11</sup>.

And on the other side, Counsellours should not be too  
Speculative<sup>12</sup> into their Sovereigne's Person<sup>13</sup>. The true  
Composition of<sup>14</sup> a Counsellour is rather to be skilfull in  
their Maste Businesse then in his Nature<sup>15</sup>; For then he 105

<sup>1</sup> to do his  
self

business him-

<sup>9</sup> describes the characteristic of  
a particular age

<sup>10</sup> for party purposes

<sup>11</sup> A prince's highest merit is to  
know his subjects.

<sup>12</sup> prying

<sup>13</sup> character

<sup>14</sup> the right quality for

<sup>15</sup> i.e. than in understanding his  
inclination

nd Metis  
e was impaired

find faith on the



is like<sup>1</sup> to Advise him, and not to Feede his Humour. It is of singular<sup>2</sup> use to Princes, if they take the Opinions of their Counsell both Separately and Together. For Private Opinion is more free, but Opinion before others is more Reverend<sup>3</sup>. In private, Men are more bold in their owne Humours; And in Consort<sup>4</sup>, Men are more obnoxious to<sup>5</sup> others' Humours; Therefore it is good to take both: And of the inferiour Sort rather in private, to preserve Freedome; Of the greater, rather in Consort, to preserve Respect. It is in vaine for Princes to take Counsel concerning Matters, if they take no Counsell likewise concerning Persons: For all Matters are as dead Images; And the Life of the Execution of Affaires resteth in<sup>6</sup> the good Choice of Persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning Persons *Secundum genera*<sup>7</sup>, as in an Idea or Mathematicall Description, what the Kinde and Character of the Person should be<sup>8</sup>; For the greatest Errours are committed, and the most Iudgement is shewne, in the choice of Individuals. It was truly said, *Optimi Consiliarij mortui*<sup>9</sup>; Books will speake plaine, when Counsellors Blanch<sup>10</sup>. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, Specially the Bookes of such as Themselves have been Actors upon the Stage.

The Counsels at this Day in most Places are but Familiar Meetings, where Matters are rather talked on then debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of Counsell. It were better that, in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to<sup>11</sup> till the next day; *In Nocte Consilium*<sup>12</sup>. So was it done in the Commission of Union between England and Scotland, which was a Grave and Orderly Assembly. I commend set Daies for Petitions; For both it gives the Suitors more certainty for their Attendance, And it frees the Meetings

<sup>1</sup> likely<sup>2</sup> special<sup>3</sup> reverent, respectful<sup>4</sup> company<sup>5</sup> more liable to be influenced

by

<sup>6</sup> efficiency of administration depends on<sup>7</sup> by classes<sup>8</sup> ought to be<sup>9</sup> The dead are the best counsellors.<sup>10</sup> flinch<sup>11</sup> discussed<sup>12</sup> Night brings counsel.

for Matters of Estate<sup>1</sup>, that they may *Hoc agere*<sup>2</sup>. In choice of Committees for ripening<sup>3</sup> Businesse for the Counsell, it is better to choose Indifferent<sup>4</sup> persons then to make an Indifferency<sup>5</sup> by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing<sup>6</sup> Commissions; As for Trade; for Treasure; for Warre; for Suits; for some Provinces<sup>7</sup>: For where there be divers particular Counsels, and but one Counsell of Estate, (as it is in Spaine), they are in effect no more then Standing Commissions, Save that they have greater Authority. Let such as are to informe Counsels out of their particular Professions, (as Lawyers, Sea-men, Mint-men<sup>8</sup>, and the like), be first heard before Committees; And then, as Occasion serves, before the Counsell. And let them not come in Multitudes, or in a Tribumitious<sup>9</sup> Manner; For that is, to clamour Counsels<sup>10</sup>, not to enforme them. A long Table and a square Table, or Seats about the Walls, seeme Things of Forme, but are Things of Substance; For at a long Table, a few at the upper end, in effect, sway<sup>11</sup> all the Businesse; But in the other Forme there is more use of the Counsellours' Opinions that sit lower. A King, when he presides in Counsell, let him beware how he Opens his owne Inclination too much, in that which he propoundeth: For else Counsellours will but take the Winde of him<sup>12</sup>, And in stead of giving Free Counsell, sing him a Song of *Placebo*<sup>13</sup>.

## XXI

## OF DELAYES

FORTUNE is like the Market, Where many times, if you can stay a little, the Price will fall. And againe, it is

<sup>1</sup> state  
<sup>2</sup> keep to the business in hand  
<sup>3</sup> preparing  
<sup>4</sup> impartial  
<sup>5</sup> secure impartiality  
<sup>6</sup> permanent  
<sup>7</sup> departments

<sup>8</sup> persons skilled in coinage  
<sup>9</sup> overbearing  
<sup>10</sup> stun councils with clamour  
<sup>11</sup> direct  
<sup>12</sup> follow his lead  
<sup>13</sup> will follow the bent of his humour

sometimes like Sybilla's Offer, which at first offereth the Commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still  
 5 holdeth up<sup>1</sup> the Price. For Occasion (as it is in the Common verse) *turneth a Bald Noddle, after she hath presented her locks in Front, and no hold taken<sup>2</sup>*; Or at least turneth the Handle of the Bottle first to be received, and after, the Belly, which is hard to claspe. There is surely  
 10 no greater Wisedome then well to time the Beginnings and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no more light<sup>3</sup>, if they once seeme light: And more dangers have deceived Men then forced them<sup>4</sup>. Nay, it were better to meet some Dangers halfe way, though they come nothing<sup>5</sup> neare, then  
 15 to keepe too long a watch upon their Approaches; For if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleepe. On the other side, to be deceived with too long Shadowes, (As some have beene, when the Moone was low, and shone on their Enemies' backe), And so to shoot off before the time;  
 20 Or to teach dangers to come on by over early Buckling towards them<sup>6</sup>, is another Extreme. The Ripenesse or Unripenesse of the Occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; And generally, it is good to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions to Argos with his hundred  
 25 Eyes, And the Ends to Briareus with his hundred Hands; First to Watch and then to Speed. For the Helmet of Pluto, which maketh the Politicke Man<sup>7</sup> goe Invisible, is Secrecy in the Counsell, and Celerity in the Execution. For when Things are once come to the Execution, there is  
 30 no Secrecy comparable to Celerity; Like the Motion of a Bullet in the Ayre, which flyeth so swift as<sup>8</sup> it out-runs the Eye.

<sup>1</sup> always increases<sup>2</sup> has been taken<sup>3</sup> trifling<sup>4</sup> more dangers have attacked men insidiously than have openly

assailed them

<sup>5</sup> by no means<sup>6</sup> preparing to meet them<sup>7</sup> politician<sup>8</sup> that

## XXII

## OF CUNNING

WE take Cunning for<sup>1</sup> a Sinister or Crooked Wisedome. And certainly, there is great difference between a Cunning Man and a Wise Man, Not onely in Point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can packe the Cards<sup>2</sup>, and yet cannot play well; So there are some that are good 5 in Canvasses<sup>3</sup>, and Factions, that are otherwise Weake Men. Againe, it is one thing to understand Persons, and another thing to understand Matters; For many are perfect in Men's Humours that are not greatly Capable of the Reall Part of Businesse<sup>4</sup>; Which is the Constitution of one that 10 hath studied Men more then Bookes. Such Men are fitter for Practise<sup>5</sup> then for Counsell, And they are good but<sup>6</sup> in their own Alley<sup>7</sup>: Turne them to New Men and they have lost their Ayme; So as<sup>8</sup> the old Rule, to know a Foole from a Wise Man, *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos et videbis*<sup>9</sup>, 15 doth scarce hold for them. And because these Cunning Men are like Haberdashers<sup>10</sup> of Small Wares, it is not amisse to set forth their Shop<sup>11</sup>.

It is a point of Cunning, to wait upon<sup>12</sup> him with whom you speake, with your eye, As the Iesuites give it in precept; 20 For there be many Wise Men that have Secret Hearts and Transparant Countenances. Yet this would<sup>13</sup> be done with a demure Abasing<sup>14</sup> of your Eye sometimes, as the Iesuites also doe use<sup>15</sup>.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtaine of 25 present dispatch<sup>16</sup>, you entertaine and amuse the party with

<sup>1</sup> We understand by 'cunning'

<sup>2</sup> can secure a good hand by cheating

<sup>3</sup> intrigues

<sup>4</sup> capable of the material part, namely, business

<sup>5</sup> intrigue

<sup>6</sup> only

<sup>7</sup> bowling-alley

<sup>8</sup> so that

<sup>9</sup> Turn them both adrift among strangers, and then you will see the difference

<sup>10</sup> pedlars, small tradespeople

<sup>11</sup> stock-in-trade (of tricks)

<sup>12</sup> closely watch

<sup>13</sup> should

<sup>14</sup> a modest turning-down

<sup>15</sup> are in the habit of doing

<sup>16</sup> of urgent importance

whom you deale with some other Discourse, That he be not too much awake to make Obiections. I knew a Counsellor and Secretary, that never came to Queene Elizabeth  
 30 of England with Bills to signe, but he would alwaies first put her into some discourse of Estate<sup>1</sup>, that she mought<sup>2</sup> the lesse minde the Bills.

The like Surprize may be made by Moving<sup>3</sup> things, when the Party is in haste and cannot stay to consider  
 35 advisedly of that is moved<sup>4</sup>.

If a man would crosse<sup>5</sup> a Businesse that he doubts<sup>6</sup> some other would handsomely<sup>7</sup> and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himselfe in such sort<sup>8</sup> as may foile it.

40 The breaking off, in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he tooke himselfe up<sup>9</sup>, breeds a greater Appetite in him with whom you conferre to know more.

And because it workes better, when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by Question then if you offer it of  
 45 your selfe, you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Visage and Countenance then you are wont; To the end, to give Occasion for the party to aske what the Matter is of the Change<sup>10</sup>? As Nehemias did, *And I had not before that time been sad before the King.*

50 In Things that are tender and unpleasing<sup>11</sup>, it is good to breake the Ice by some whose Words are of lesse weight, and to reserve the more weighty Voice<sup>12</sup> to come in as by chance, so that he<sup>13</sup> may be asked the Question upon the other's Speech. As Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius  
 55 the Marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a Man would not be seen in himselfe, It is a Point of Cunning to borrow the Name of the World; As to say, *The World says, Or, There is a speech abroad.*

<sup>1</sup> about affairs of state

<sup>2</sup> might

<sup>3</sup> proposing

<sup>4</sup> that which is proposed

<sup>5</sup> wants to thwart

<sup>6</sup> fears

<sup>7</sup> skilfully

<sup>8</sup> in such a fashion

<sup>9</sup> checked himself

<sup>10</sup> what is the ground for the change of countenance

<sup>11</sup> that need delicate handling and are unpleasant

<sup>12</sup> opinion

<sup>13</sup> viz. the man with the more weighty opinion

I knew one that, when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was most Materiall in the Post-script, as if it had 60 been a By-matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have Speech, he would passe over that that he intended most, and goe forth, and come backe againe and speake of it as of a Thing that he had almost forgot. 65

Some procure themselves to be surprized at such times as it is like<sup>1</sup> the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them; And to be found with a Letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; To the end they may be apposed of<sup>2</sup> those things, which of 70 themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of Cunning, to let fall those Words, in a Man's owne Name, which he would have another Man learne and use, and thereupon take Advantage. I knew two that were Competitors for the Secretarie's Place, in 75 Queene Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good Quarter betweene themselves<sup>3</sup>, And would conferre, one with another, upon the Businesse; And the one of them said, That to be a Secretary, in the Declination<sup>4</sup> of a Monarchy, was a Ticklish Thing, and that he did not affect<sup>5</sup> it: The 80 other straight<sup>6</sup> caught up those Words, and discoursed with divers<sup>7</sup> of his Friends, that he had no reason to desire to be Secretary, in the Declination of a Monarchy. The first Man tooke hold of it, and found Meanes it was told the Queene; Who, hearing of a Declination of a Monarchy, 85 tooke it so ill as<sup>8</sup> she would never after heare of the other's Suit.

There is a Cunning, which we in England call *The Turning of the Cat in the Pan*<sup>9</sup>; which is, when that which a Man says to another, he laies it as if Another<sup>10</sup> had said 90 it to him. And to say Truth, it is not easie, when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appeare from which of them it first moved and began.

<sup>1</sup> likely that

<sup>2</sup> questioned about

<sup>3</sup> kept on good terms

<sup>4</sup> decline

<sup>5</sup> desire

<sup>6</sup> immediately

<sup>7</sup> several

<sup>8</sup> that

<sup>9</sup> shifting the characters

<sup>10</sup> he makes out that the other

95 It is a way that some men have, to glaunce and dart<sup>1</sup> at Others, by Iustifying themselves by Negatives; As to say, *This I doe not*: As Tigillinus did towards Burrhus; *Se non diversas spes, sed Incolumitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare*<sup>2</sup>.

Some have in readinesse so many Tales and Stories, as<sup>3</sup>  
100 there is Nothing they would<sup>4</sup> insinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale; which serveth both to keepe themselves more in Guard<sup>5</sup>, and to make others carry it<sup>6</sup>, with more Pleasure.

It is a good Point of Cunning for a Man to shape the  
105 Answer he would have in his owne Words and Propositions; For it makes the other Party sticke<sup>7</sup> the lesse.

It is strange how long some Men will lie in wait to speake somewhat they desire to say; And how farre about they will fetch<sup>8</sup>; And how many other Matters they will  
110 beat over to come neare it. It is a Thing of great Patience, but yet of much Use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected Question doth many times surprise a Man, and lay him open. Like to him that, having changed his Name, and walking in Paul's, Another  
115 suddenly came behind him and called him by his true Name, whereat straightwaies he looked backe.

But these Small Wares and Petty Points of Cunning are infinite: And it were a good deed, to make a List of them: For that<sup>9</sup> nothing doth more hurt in a State then that  
120 Cunning Men passe for Wise.

But certainly, some there are that know the Resorts and Falls<sup>10</sup> of Businesse that cannot sinke into the Maine of it<sup>11</sup>; Like a House that hath convenient Staires and Entries, but never a faire Roome. Therefore, you shall see them finde  
125 out pretty Looses<sup>12</sup> in the Conclusion, but are no waies

<sup>1</sup> to cast reflexions

<sup>2</sup> He had no divergent aims in view (as Burrus had), but looked solely to the emperor's safety.

<sup>3</sup> that

<sup>4</sup> would like to

<sup>5</sup> to protect themselves from injurious consequences

<sup>6</sup> spread it abroad

<sup>7</sup> hesitate

<sup>8</sup> how they will go round and round the subject

<sup>9</sup> since

<sup>10</sup> vicissitudes

<sup>11</sup> cannot grasp its essential principles

<sup>12</sup> find out ingenious means of escaping difficulty

able to Examine or debate Matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction<sup>1</sup>. Some build rather upon the Abusing<sup>2</sup> of others, and (as we now say) *Putting Tricks upon them*, Then upon Soundnesse of their own proceedings. But <sup>130</sup> Salomon saith, *Prudens advertit ad Gressus suos: Stultus divertit ad Dolos*<sup>3</sup>.

## XXIII

## OF WISEDOME FOR A MAN'S SELFE

AN Ant is a wise Creature for it Selfe, But it is a shrewd<sup>4</sup> Thing in an Orchard or Garden. And certainly, Men that are great Lovers of Themselves waste the Publique. Divide with reason betweene Selfe-love and Society; And be so true to thy Selfe as<sup>5</sup> thou be not false to Others, <sup>5</sup> Specially to thy King and Country. It is a poore Center of a Man's Actions, Himselfe. It is right Earth<sup>6</sup>; For that onely<sup>7</sup> stands fast upon his<sup>8</sup> owne Center; Whereas all Things that have Affinity with the Heavens move upon the Center of another, which they benefit. The Referring of <sup>10</sup> all to a Man's Selfe is more tolerable in a Sovereigne Prince, Because Themselves are not onely Themselves, But their Good and Evill is at the perill<sup>9</sup> of the Publique Fortune: But it is a desperate Evill in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republique; For whatsoever Affaires passe <sup>15</sup> such a Man's Hands, he crooketh<sup>10</sup> them to his owne Ends, Which must needs be often Eccentrick to<sup>11</sup> the Ends of his Master or State. Therefore let Princes or States choose

<sup>1</sup> would like to be taken for men of special ability in directing other people

<sup>2</sup> deceiving

<sup>3</sup> The wise man looks to his own steps: the fool turns aside to the snare.

<sup>4</sup> mischievous

<sup>5</sup> be true to thyself in such a way that

<sup>6</sup> It is just like the earth

<sup>7</sup> For the earth alone

<sup>8</sup> its

<sup>9</sup> involves the good or evil

<sup>10</sup> bends

<sup>11</sup> different from



such Servants as have not this marke<sup>1</sup>; Except they meane  
 20 their Service should be made but the Accessary<sup>2</sup>. That  
 which maketh the Effect more pernicious is, that all Pro-  
 portion is lost. It were disproportion enough for the  
 Servant's Good to be preferred before the Master's; But  
 yet it is a greater Extreme, when a little Good of the  
 25 Servant shall carry Things<sup>3</sup> against a great Good of the  
 Master's. And yet that is the case of Bad Officers, Treasurers,  
 Ambassadors, Generals, and other False and Corrupt Servants;  
 which set a Bias upon their Bowle, of their owne Petty Ends  
 and Envies, to the overthrow of  
 30 their Master's Great and Important Affaires. And for the  
 most part, the Good such Servants receive is after the  
 Modell of<sup>4</sup> their owne Fortune; But the Hurt they sell for  
 that Good is after the Modell of their Master's Fortune.  
 And certainly, it is the Nature of Extreme Selfe-Lovers, As<sup>5</sup>  
 35 they will set an House on Fire, and<sup>6</sup> it were but to roast  
 their Egges; And yet these Men, many times, hold credit  
 with their Masters, Because their Study is but to please  
 Them, and profit Themselves; And for either respect<sup>7</sup> they  
 will abandon the Good of their Affaires<sup>8</sup>.

40 Wisedome for a Man's Selfe is, in many Branches thereof,  
 a depraved Thing. It is the Wisedome of Rats, that will  
 be sure to leave a House somewhat before it fall. It is the  
 Wisedome of the Fox, that thrusts out the Badger, who  
 digged and made Roome for him. It is the Wisedome of  
 45 Crocodiles, that shed teares when they would devoure.  
 But that which is specially to be noted is that those which  
 (as Cicero saies of Pompey) are *Sui Amantes sine Rivali*<sup>9</sup>,  
 are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all  
 their time sacrificed to Themselves, they become in the  
 50 end themselves Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune,  
 whose Wings they thought, by their Self-Wisedome, to have  
 Pinnioned<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> feature<sup>2</sup> unless they intend to use them  
merely as subordinates<sup>3</sup> prevail<sup>4</sup> on a scale with<sup>5</sup> that<sup>6</sup> even if<sup>7</sup> consideration<sup>8</sup> abandon their masters' interest<sup>9</sup> Lovers of themselves without

a rival

<sup>10</sup> clipped

OF INNOVATIONS<sup>1</sup>

As the Births<sup>2</sup> of Living Creatures, at first, are ill shapen, So are all Innovations<sup>3</sup>, which are the Births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as Those that first bring Honour into their Family are commonly more worthy then most that succeed, So the first Precedent (if it be good) is seldome attained<sup>4</sup> by Imitation. For Ill, to Man's Nature as it stands<sup>5</sup> perverted, hath a Naturall Motion, strongest in Continuance; But Good, as a Forced Motion, strongest at first<sup>6</sup>. Surely every Medicine is an Innovation; And he that will not apply New Remedies, must expect New Evils: 10 For Time is the greatest Innovatour: And if Time, of course<sup>7</sup>, alter Things to the worse, and Wisedome and Counsell shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the End? It is true that what is setled by Custome, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit<sup>8</sup>. And those 15 Things, which have long gone together, are as it were confederate<sup>9</sup> within themselves; Whereas New Things peece not<sup>10</sup> so well; But though they helpe by their utility, yet they trouble by their Inconformity<sup>11</sup>. Besides, they are like Strangers, more Admired and lesse Favoured<sup>12</sup>. All this is 20 true, if Time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round<sup>13</sup>, that a Froward<sup>14</sup> Retention of Custome is as turbulent a Thing<sup>15</sup> as an Innovation; And they that Reverence too much Old Times are but a Scorne<sup>16</sup> to the New<sup>17</sup>. It were good, therefore, that Men in their Innovations 25 would follow the Example of Time it selfe, which indeed

<sup>1</sup> Changes<sup>2</sup> offspring<sup>3</sup> equalled

<sup>4</sup> On man's corrupt nature, evil naturally exerts most influence as time goes on, whilst goodness operates as an influence from without and grows weaker.

<sup>5</sup> by its natural course<sup>6</sup> suited to the times<sup>7</sup> i.e. work together well<sup>8</sup> do not fit in with the old<sup>9</sup> incongruity

<sup>10</sup> more wondered at and less liked

<sup>11</sup> so revolves<sup>12</sup> obstinate<sup>13</sup> causes as much confusion<sup>14</sup> an object of scorn<sup>15</sup> viz. to their own age

Innovateth greatly, but quietly and by degrees scarce to be perceived: For otherwise, whatsoever is New is unlooked for; And ever it mends Some and paires<sup>1</sup> Other: And he  
 30 that is holpen<sup>2</sup> takes it for a Fortune and thanks the Time; And he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good also not to try Experiments in States, Except the Necessity be Urgent, or the utility Evident: And well to beware<sup>3</sup> that it be the Reformation that draweth  
 35 on the Change, And not the desire of Change that pretendeth the Reformation<sup>4</sup>. And lastly, that the Novelty, though it be not reiected, yet be held for a Suspect<sup>5</sup>; And, as the Scripture saith, *That we make a stand upon the Ancient Way, and then looke about us, and discover what is*  
 40 *the straight and right way, and so to walke in it.*

## XXV

## OF DISPATCH

AFFECTED Dispatch<sup>6</sup> is one of the most dangerous things to Businesse that can be. It is like that which the Physicians call *Predigestion*, or Hasty Digestion, which is sure to fill the Body full of Crudities<sup>7</sup> and secret Seeds of  
 5 Diseases. Therefore, measure not Dispatch by the Times of Sitting, but by the Advancement of the Businesse. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or High Lift<sup>8</sup>, that makes the Speed; So in Businesse, the Keeping close to the matter, and not Taking of it too much at once, pro-  
 10 cureth Dispatch. It is the Care of Some onely to come off speedily for the time<sup>9</sup>, Or to contrive some false Periods of Businesse<sup>10</sup>, because<sup>11</sup> they may seeme Men of Dispatch.

<sup>1</sup> impairs, injures<sup>2</sup> helped<sup>3</sup> to take good care<sup>4</sup> that puts forward the reformation as a pretext<sup>5</sup> be regarded as a suspected thing<sup>6</sup> An excessive desire for dis-

patch

<sup>7</sup> undigested morsels<sup>8</sup> stepping<sup>9</sup> as regards the time taken<sup>10</sup> i.e. to make it seem that the business is finished when it is not really finished<sup>11</sup> in order that

But it is one Thing to Abbreviate by Contracting<sup>1</sup>, Another by Cutting off: And Businesse so handled at severall Sittings or Meetings goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady Manner. I knew a Wise Man that had it for a By-word<sup>2</sup>, when he saw Men hasten to a conclusion; *Stay a little, that we may make an End the sooner.*

On the other side, True Dispatch is a rich Thing. For Time is the measure of Businesse, as Money is of Wares; And Businesse is bought at a deare Hand, where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of Small dispatch; *Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna*;—*Let my Death come from Spaine*; For then it will be sure to be long in comming.

Give good Hearing to those that give the first Information in Businesse; And rather direct them in the beginning then interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his owne Order will goe forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his Memory<sup>3</sup> then he could have been if he had gone on in his owne course. But sometimes it is seene that the Moderator<sup>4</sup> is more troublesome then the Actor<sup>5</sup>.

Iterations<sup>6</sup> are commonly losse of Time: But there is no such Gaine of Time as to iterate often the State of the Question; For it chaseth away many a Frivolous Speech as it is comming forth. Long and Curious<sup>7</sup> Speeches are as fit for Dispatch as a Robe or Mantle with a long Traine is for Race. Prefaces, and Passages<sup>8</sup>, and Excusations<sup>9</sup>, and other Speeches of Reference to the Person, are great wasts of Time; And though they seeme to proceed of<sup>10</sup> Modesty, they are Bravery<sup>11</sup>. Yet beware of being too Materiall<sup>12</sup>, when there is any Impediment or Obstruction in Men's Wils; For Pre-occupation of Minde<sup>13</sup> ever requireth preface of Speech, Like a Fomentation to make the unguent<sup>14</sup> enter.

<sup>1</sup> by bringing matters to a point

<sup>2</sup> proverb

<sup>3</sup> tries to recollect what he was going to say

<sup>4</sup> chairman

<sup>5</sup> speaker

<sup>6</sup> repetitions

<sup>7</sup> elaborate, or subtle

<sup>8</sup> digressions

<sup>9</sup> apologies

<sup>10</sup> from

<sup>11</sup> ostentation

<sup>12</sup> of coming too abruptly to the matter in hand

<sup>13</sup> prejudice

<sup>14</sup> ointment

Above all things, Order and Distribution and Singling out of Parts is the life of Dispatch; So as<sup>1</sup> the Distribution be not too subtil: For he that doth not divide will never enter well into Businesse; And he that divideth too much  
 50 will never come out of it clearly. To choose Time is to save Time; And an Unseasonable Motion is but Beating the Ayre. There be three Parts of Businesse: The Preparation; The Debate, or Examination; And the Perfection<sup>2</sup>. Whereof, if you looke for Dispatch, let the Middle onely  
 55 be the Worke of Many, and the First and Last the Worke of Few. The Proceeding upon somewhat conceived<sup>3</sup> in Writing doth for the most part facilitate Dispatch: For though it should be wholly reiected, yet that Negative is more pregnant of Direction<sup>4</sup> then an Indefinite; As Ashes  
 60 are more Generative<sup>5</sup> then Dust.

## XXVI

## OF SEEMING WISE

It hath been an Opinion, that the French are wiser then they seeme, And the Spaniards seeme wiser then they are. But howsoever it be between Nations, certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the Apostle saith of  
 5 Godlinesse,—*Having a shew of Godlinesse, but denying the Power thereof*; So certainly, there are in Point of Wisedome and Sufficiency<sup>6</sup>, that<sup>7</sup> doe Nothing or Little very solemnly; *Magno conatu Nugas*<sup>8</sup>. It is a Ridiculous Thing and fit for a Satyre to Persons of Iudgement, to see what shifts  
 10 these Formalists<sup>9</sup> have, and what Prospectives<sup>10</sup> to make Superficies to seeme Body that hath Depth and Bulke. Some are so Close and Reserved as<sup>11</sup> they will not shew their Wares but by a darke Light, And seeme alwaies to

<sup>1</sup> provided that  
<sup>2</sup> completion  
<sup>3</sup> something expressed  
<sup>4</sup> useful for guidance  
<sup>5</sup> fertilizing  
<sup>6</sup> ability

<sup>7</sup> some who  
<sup>8</sup> (They perform) trifles with great effort.  
<sup>9</sup> pretenders to wisdom, pedants  
<sup>10</sup> perspective-glasses  
<sup>11</sup> that

keepe backe somewhat ; And when they know within themselves, they speake of that they doe not well know, would <sup>15</sup> nevertheless seeme<sup>1</sup> to others to know of that which they may not well speake. Some helpe themselves with Countenance and Gesture, and are wise by Signes ; As Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him he fetched one of his Browes up to his Forehead, and bent the other <sup>20</sup> downe to his Chin : *Respondes, altero ad Frontem sublato, altero ad Mentum depresso Supercilio ; Crudelitatem tibi non placere*<sup>2</sup>. Some thinke to beare it<sup>3</sup> by Speaking a great Word and being peremptory ; And goe on, and take by admittance<sup>4</sup> that which they cannot make good<sup>5</sup>. Some, <sup>25</sup> whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seeme to despise or make light of it, as Impertinent or Curious<sup>6</sup> ; And so would<sup>7</sup> have their Ignorance seeme Iudgement. Some are never without a Difference<sup>8</sup>, and commonly, by Amusing Men with a Subtilty, blanch<sup>9</sup> the matter ; Of whom <sup>30</sup> A. Gellius saith, *Hominem delirum, qui Verborum Minutijs Rerum frangit Pondera*<sup>10</sup>. Of which kinde also Plato, in his *Protagoras* bringeth in Prodicus in Scorne, and maketh him make a Speech that consisteth of distinctions from the Beginning to the End. Generally, Such Men in all Deliberations finde ease to be of<sup>11</sup> the Negative Side, and affect <sup>35</sup> a Credit to obiect<sup>12</sup> and foretell Difficulties : For when propositions are denied<sup>13</sup>, there is an End of them ; But if they be allowed<sup>14</sup>, it requireth a New Worke : which false Point of Wisedome is the Bane of Businesse. To conclude, <sup>40</sup> there is no decaying Merchant, or Inward Beggar<sup>15</sup>, hath so many Tricks to uphold the Credit of their wealth as

<sup>1</sup> they nevertheless wish to seem

<sup>2</sup> With one eyebrow raised to your forehead and the other lowered to your chin, you answer that cruelty is not to your taste.

<sup>3</sup> to carry their point

<sup>4</sup> take for granted

<sup>5</sup> cannot prove

<sup>6</sup> irrelevant or over-subtle

<sup>7</sup> wish to

<sup>8</sup> without some minute distinction

<sup>9</sup> shirk

<sup>10</sup> A madman who fritters away matters of weight with verbal quibbles.

<sup>11</sup> find more comfort in being on

<sup>12</sup> try to acquire a reputation by raising objections

<sup>13</sup> when proposals are rejected

<sup>14</sup> approved

<sup>15</sup> pauper who hides his poverty

these Empty persons have to maintaine the Credit of their Sufficiency<sup>1</sup>. Seeming Wise men may make shift to get  
 45 Opinion<sup>2</sup>: But let no Man choose them for Employment; For certainly, you were better take<sup>3</sup> for Businesse a Man somewhat Absurd<sup>4</sup> then over Formall.

## XXVII

## OF FRIENDSHIP

IT had beene hard for him that spake it to have put more Truth and untruth together, in few Words, then in that Speech, *Whosoever is delighted in solitude is either a wilde Beast or a God*. For it is most true, that a Naturall  
 5 and Secret Hatred and Aversion towards<sup>5</sup> Society, in any Man, hath somewhat of the Savage Beast; But it is most Untrue that it should have any Character at all of the Divine Nature; Except it proceed, not out of a Pleasure in Solitude, but out of a Love and desire to sequester<sup>6</sup> a  
 10 Man's Selve for a Higher Conversation<sup>7</sup>: Such as is found to have been falsely and fainedly in some of the Heathen; As Epimenides the Candian, Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana; And truly and really, in divers of the Ancient Hermits and Holy  
 15 Fathers of the Church. But little doe Men perceive what Solitude is, and how farre it extendeth. For a Crowd is not Company; And Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures; And Talke but a *Tinckling Cymball*, where there is no Love. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little<sup>8</sup>, *Magna Civitas,*  
 20 *Magna solitudo*<sup>9</sup>; Because in a great Towne, Friends are scattered; So that there is not that Fellowship, for the most Part, which is in lesse Neighbourhoods. But we may

<sup>1</sup> ability<sup>2</sup> may contrive to acquire a reputation<sup>3</sup> it would be better for you to take<sup>4</sup> unreasonable<sup>5</sup> aversion for<sup>6</sup> withdraw<sup>7</sup> manner of life<sup>8</sup> expresses it pretty well<sup>9</sup> A great city is a great solitude.

goe further and affirme most truly, That it is a meere<sup>1</sup> and miserable Solitude to want true Friends, without which the World is but a Wildernesse; And even in this sense also of 25 Solitude, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections is unfit for Friendship, he taketh it of<sup>2</sup> the Beast, and not from Humanity<sup>3</sup>. *human nature*

A principall Fruit of Friendship is the Ease and Discharge of the Fulnesse and Swellings of the Heart, which 30 Passions of all kinds doe cause and induce. We know Diseases of Stoppings and Suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; And it is not much otherwise in the Minde: You may take Sarza<sup>4</sup> to open the Liver; Steele to open the Spleene; Flowers of Sulphur for the Lungs; 35 Castoreum for the Braine; (But no Receipt<sup>5</sup> openeth the Heart but a true Friend, To whom you may impart Griefes, Ioyes, Feares, Hopes, Suspicions, Counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the Heart to oppresse it, in a kind of Civill *lay confession* <sup>40</sup> Shrift<sup>6</sup> or Confession.)

It is a Strange Thing to observe how high a Rate Great Kings and Monarchs do set upon this Fruit of Friendship, wherof we speake: So great, ~~as~~ they purchase it, many times, at the hazard of their owne Safety and Greatnesse. For Princes, in regard of the distance of their Fortune from 45 that of their Subiects and Servants, cannot gather this Fruit, Except (to make Themselves capable thereof) they raise some Persons to be, as it were Companions, and almost Equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to<sup>8</sup> Inconvenience. The Moderne Languages give unto such Persons 50 the Name of Favorites, or *Privadoes*<sup>9</sup>, As if it were Matter of Grace, or Conversation<sup>10</sup>. But the Roman Name attaineth the true Use and Cause thereof, Naming them [*Participes Curarum*<sup>11</sup>] For it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by Weake 55 and Passionate<sup>12</sup> Princes onely, but by the Wisest and most

<sup>1</sup> an absolute<sup>2</sup> he derives it from<sup>3</sup> human nature<sup>4</sup> sarsaparilla<sup>5</sup> prescription<sup>6</sup> lay confession<sup>7</sup> that<sup>8</sup> results in<sup>9</sup> intimate friends<sup>10</sup> as if it were due to favour or (the desire for) intercourse<sup>11</sup> Partners in cares<sup>12</sup> emotional



Politique that ever reigned, Who have oftentimes ioyned to themselves some of their Servants, Whom both Themselves have called Friends, And allowed Others likewise to  
60 call them in the same manner, Using the Word which is received between Private Men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the *Great*) to that Height<sup>1</sup>, that Pompey vaunted Himself for Sylla's Overmatch. For when he had  
65 carried the Consulship for a Friend of his, against the pursuit<sup>2</sup> of Sylla, and that<sup>3</sup> Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speake great, Pompey turned upon him againe, and in effect<sup>4</sup> bad him be quiet; *For that more Men adored the Sunne Rising then the Sunne setting.* With  
70 Iulius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that Interest as<sup>5</sup> he set him downe, in his Testament, for Heire in Remainder, after his Nephew. And this was the Man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death. For when Cæsar would have discharged the Senate, in regard of  
75 some ill Presages, and specially a Dreame of Calpurnia, This Man lifted him gently by the Arme out of his Chaire, telling him he hoped he would not dismisse the Senate till his wife had dreamt a better Dreame. And it seemeth his favour was so great as<sup>6</sup> Antonius, in a Letter which is  
80 recited *Verbatim* in one of Cicero's *Philippiques*, calleth him *Venefica*,—*Witch*; As if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of meane Birth) to that Height as<sup>7</sup>, when he consulted with Mæcenas about the Marriage of his Daughter Iulia, Mæcenas tooke the Liberty  
85 to tell him, *That he must either marry his Daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life; there was no third way, he had made him so great.* With Tiberius Cæsar, Seianus had ascended to that Height as<sup>7</sup> they Two were teamed and reckoned as a Paire of Friends. Tiberius in a Letter to  
90 him saith; *Hæc pro Amicitia nostrâ non occultavi*<sup>8</sup>: And the whole Senate dedicated an Altar to Friendship, as to a

<sup>1</sup> to such a height

<sup>2</sup> canvassing

<sup>3</sup> when

<sup>4</sup> in fact

<sup>5</sup> such influence that

<sup>6</sup> so great that

<sup>7</sup> to such a height that

<sup>8</sup> By reason of our friendship I have not concealed these matters.

Goddesse, in respect of the great Dearenesse of Friendship between them Two. The like or more was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus. For he forced his Eldest Sonne to marry the Daughter of Plautianus, And would 95 often maintaine<sup>1</sup> Plautianus in doing Affronts to his Son; And did write also in a Letter to the Senate by<sup>2</sup> these Words; *I love the Man so well as<sup>3</sup> I wish he may over-live<sup>4</sup> me.* Now if these Princes had beene as a Traian, or a Marcus Aurelius, A Man might have thought that this had 100 proceeded of an abundant Goodnesse of Nature; But being Men so Wise, of such Strength and Severitie of minde, and so Extreme Lovers of Themselves, as all these were, It proveth most plainly that they found their owne Felicitie (though as great as ever happened to Mortall Men) but as 105 an Halfe Peece<sup>5</sup>, except they mought<sup>6</sup> have a Friend to make it Entire: And yet, which is more, they were Princes that had Wives, Sonnes, Nephews; And yet all these could not supply the Comfort of Friendship.

It is not to be forgotten, what Commineus observeth of 110 his first Master, Duke Charles the Hardy; Namely, that hee would communicate his Secrets with none; And least of all, those Secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on and saith, That towards his Latter time, *That closenesse<sup>7</sup> did impaire and a little perish<sup>8</sup> his understanding.* 115 Surely Commineus mought<sup>6</sup> have made the same Iudgement also, if it had pleased him, of his Second Master Lewis the Eleventh, whose closenesse was indeed his Tormentour. The Parable<sup>9</sup> of Pythagoras is darke, but true; *Cor ne edito,—Eat not the Heart.* Certainly, if a Man would give 120 it a hard Phrase, (Those that want Friends to open them) selves unto are Canniballs of their owne Hearts. But one Thing is most Admirable<sup>10</sup>, (wherewith I will conclude this first Fruit of friendship) which is, that this Communicating of a Man's Selfe to his Friend works<sup>11</sup> two contrarie Effects; 125 For it redoubleth Ioyes, and cutteth Griefes in Halves.

<sup>1</sup> uphold<sup>7</sup> reserve<sup>8</sup> to some extent destroy<sup>9</sup> figurative saying<sup>10</sup> marvellous<sup>11</sup> produces

For there is no Man that imparteth his Ioyes to his Friend, but he ioyeth the more; And no Man that imparteth his Griefes to his Friend, but hee grieveth the lesse,<sup>1</sup> So that  
 130 it is, in Truth of Operation upon a Man's Minde, of like vertue as the Alchymists use<sup>2</sup> to attribute to their Stone for Man's Bodie, That it worketh all Contrary Effects, but still<sup>3</sup> to the Good and Benefit of Nature. But yet, without praying in Aid<sup>4</sup> of Alchymists, there is a manifest Image  
 135 of this in the ordinarie course of Nature. For in Bodies<sup>5</sup>, Union strengthneth and cherisheth any Naturall Action; And, on the other side, weakneth and dulleth any violent Impression: And even so is it of Minds.

The second Fruit of Friendship is Healthfull and  
 140 Sovereigne<sup>6</sup> for the Understanding, as the first is for the Affections<sup>7</sup>. For Friendship maketh indeed a faire Day in the Affections, from Storme and Tempests: But it maketh Daylight in the Understanding, out of Darknesse and Confusion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be understood onely  
 145 of Faithfull Counsell, which a Man receiveth from his Friend; But before you come to that, certaine it is that, whosoever hath his Minde fraught<sup>8</sup> with many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding doe clarifie and breake up<sup>9</sup>, in the Communicating and discoursing with Another: He  
 150 tosseth his Thoughts more easily; He marshalleth them more orderly; He seeth how they looke when they are turned into Words; Finally, He waxeth wiser then Himselfe<sup>10</sup>; And that more by an Houre's discourse then by a Daye's Meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to  
 155 the King of Persia, *That speech was like Cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad*<sup>11</sup>; *Whereby the Imagery doth appeare in Figure*<sup>12</sup>; whereas in Thoughts, they lie but as in Packs. Neither is this Second Fruit of Friendship, in opening the Understanding, restrained<sup>13</sup> onely to such Friends as are

<sup>1</sup> are wont

<sup>2</sup> always

<sup>3</sup> calling in the help

<sup>4</sup> material objects

<sup>5</sup> supremely beneficial

<sup>6</sup> feelings

<sup>7</sup> burdened

<sup>8</sup> become clear and disentangled

<sup>9</sup> he grows wiser than his former self

<sup>10</sup> like tapestry spread out

<sup>11</sup> i.e. complete

<sup>12</sup> restricted

able to give a Man Counsell: (They indeed are best); But 160  
 even without that, a Man learneth of Himselfe, and bringeth  
 his owne Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as  
 against a Stone, which it selfe cuts not. In a word, a Man  
 were better relate himselfe<sup>1</sup> to a Statua<sup>2</sup>, or Picture, then  
 to suffer his Thoughts to passe in smother<sup>3</sup>.

Adde now, to make this Second Fruit of Friendship 165  
 compleat, that other Point, which lieth more open, and  
 falleth within Vulgar<sup>4</sup> Observation; which is Faithfull  
 Counsell from a Friend. Heraclitus saith well, in one of  
 his Ænigmaes, *Dry Light is ever the best*. And certaine it 170  
 is that the Light that a man receiveth by Counsell from  
 Another is Drier and purer then that which commeth from  
 his owne Understanding and Iudgement; which is ever  
 infused and drenched in his Affections and Customes<sup>5</sup>.  
 So as<sup>6</sup> (there is as much difference betweene the Counsell 175  
 that a Friend giveth, and that<sup>7</sup> a Man giveth himselfe, as  
 there is between the Counsell of a Friend and of a Flatterer.)  
 For there is no such Flatterer as is a Man's Selfe; And  
 there is no such Remedy against Flattery of a Man's Selfe  
 as the Liberty of a Friend. Counsell is of two Sorts; The 180  
 one concerning Manners<sup>8</sup>, the other concerning Businesse.  
 For<sup>9</sup> the First; The best Preservative to keepe the Minde  
 in Health is the faithfull Admonition of a Friend. The  
 Calling of a Man's Selfe to a Strict Account is a Medicine,  
 sometime, too Piercing and Corrosive. Reading good 185  
 Bookes of Morality is a little Flat<sup>10</sup> and Dead. Observing  
 our Faults in Others is sometimes unproper<sup>11</sup> for our Case.  
 But the best Receipt (best, I say, to worke, and best to  
 take) is the Admonition of a Friend. It is a strange thing  
 to behold what grosse Errours and extreme Absurdities 190  
 Many (especially of the greater Sort) doe commit, for want  
 of a Friend to tell them of them, To the great dammage  
 both of their Fame and Fortune. For, as S. Iames saith,

<sup>1</sup> it would be better for a man  
 to tell his story

<sup>2</sup> statue

<sup>3</sup> to be stifled

<sup>4</sup> common

<sup>5</sup> feelings and habits

<sup>6</sup> So that

<sup>7</sup> that which

<sup>8</sup> morals

<sup>9</sup> As regards

<sup>10</sup> dull

<sup>11</sup> unsuitable

they are as Men, *that looke sometimes into a Glasse, and*  
 195 *presently<sup>1</sup> forget their own Shape and Favour<sup>2</sup>.* As for  
 Businesse, a Man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see  
 no more then one; Or that a Gamester seeth alwaies more  
 then a Looker on; Or that a Man in Anger is as Wise as  
 he that hath said over the foure and twenty Letters; Or  
 200 that a Musket may be shot off as well upon the Arme as  
 upon a Rest; And such other fond and high<sup>3</sup> Imaginations,  
 to thinke Himselfe All in All. But when all is done<sup>4</sup>, the  
 Helpe of good Counsell is that which setteth Businesse  
 straight. And if any Man thinke that he will take Counsell,  
 205 but it shall be by Peeces, Asking Counsell in one Businesse  
 of one Man, and in another Businesse of another Man, It  
 is well, (that is to say, better perhaps then if he asked none  
 at all;) but he runneth two dangers: One, that he shall not  
 be faithfully counselled; For it is a rare Thing, except it  
 210 be from a perfect and entire Friend, to have Counsell given,  
 but such as shal be bowed and crooked<sup>5</sup> to some ends  
 which he hath that giveth it: The other, that he shall have  
 Counsell given, hurtfull and unsafe, (though with good  
 Meaning), and mixt partly of Mischiefe and partly of  
 215 Remedy; Even as if you would call a Physician, that is  
 thought good for the Cure of the Disease you complaine of,  
 but is unacquainted with your body; And therefore may  
 put you in way for a present Cure, but overthroweth your  
 Health in some other kinde<sup>6</sup>, And so cure the Disease, and  
 220 kill the Patient. But a Friend that is wholly acquainted  
 with a Man's Estate<sup>7</sup>, will beware by furthering any present  
 Businesse, how he dasheth upon other Inconvenience. And  
 therefore rest<sup>8</sup> not upon Scattered<sup>9</sup> Counsels; They will  
 rather distract and Misleade then Settle and Direct.  
 225 After these two Noble Fruits of Friendship, (Peace in  
 the Affections, and Support of the Iudgement,) followeth  
 the last Fruit, which is like the Pomgranat, full of many  
 kernels; I meane Aid, and Bearing a Part in all Actions

<sup>1</sup> immediately<sup>2</sup> features<sup>3</sup> foolish and conceited<sup>4</sup> But after all<sup>5</sup> bent and distorted<sup>6</sup> in some other respect<sup>7</sup> state<sup>8</sup> depend<sup>9</sup> promiscuous

and Occasions. Here, the best Way to represent to life<sup>1</sup>, the manifold use of Friendship is to cast<sup>2</sup> and see how<sup>236</sup> many Things there are, which a Man cannot doe Himselfe; And then it will appeare that it was a Sparing Speech<sup>3</sup> of the Ancients to say, *That a Friend is another Himselfe*: For that<sup>4</sup> a Friend is farre more then Himselfe. Men have their Time<sup>5</sup>, and die many times in desire of<sup>6</sup> some Things<sup>235</sup> which they principally take to Heart<sup>7</sup>; The bestowing<sup>8</sup> of a Child, The Finishing of a Worke, Or the like. If a Man have a true Friend, he may rest almost secure<sup>9</sup> that the Care of those Things will continue after Him. So that a Man hath as it were two Lives in his desires<sup>10</sup>. A Man hath a<sup>240</sup> Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; But where Friendship is, all Offices of Life are as it were granted to Him and his Deputy; For he may exercise them by his Friend. How many Things are there which a Man cannot, with any Face or Comelines, say or doe Himselfe? A Man<sup>245</sup> can scarce alledge<sup>11</sup> his owne Merits with modesty, much lesse extoll them: A man cannot sometimes brooke to Supplicate or Beg; And a number of the like. But all these Things are Gracefull in a Friend's Mouth, which are Blushing<sup>12</sup> in a Man's Owne. So againe, a Man's Person<sup>250</sup> hath many proper Relations<sup>13</sup> which he cannot put off. A Man cannot speake to his Sonne, but as a Father; To his Wife, but as a Husband; To his Enemy, but upon Termes<sup>14</sup>: whereas a Friend may speak as the Case requires, and not as it sorteth with the Person<sup>15</sup>. But to enumerate<sup>255</sup> these Things were endlesse: I have given the Rule, where a Man cannot fitly play his owne Part: If he have not a Friend, he may quit the Stage.

<sup>1</sup> to the life, vividly<sup>2</sup> cast up, reckon<sup>3</sup> moderate statement<sup>4</sup> for<sup>5</sup> i.e. their appointed time<sup>6</sup> whilst still desiring<sup>7</sup> set their hearts upon<sup>8</sup> sc. in marriage<sup>9</sup> assured<sup>10</sup> so far as his desires are con-

cerned

<sup>11</sup> declare<sup>12</sup> which raise a blush<sup>13</sup> the part which a man plays in life has many relations peculiar to itself<sup>14</sup> without due formalities<sup>15</sup> not as befits a particular character.

## XXVIII

## OF EXPENCE

RICHES are for Spending, And Spending for Honour and good Actions. Therefore Extraordinary Expence must be limited by<sup>1</sup> the Worth of the Occasion ; For Voluntary Undoing<sup>2</sup> may be as well for a Man's Country as for the  
 5 Kingdome of Heaven ; But Ordinary Expence ought to be limited by<sup>1</sup> a Man's Estate, And governed with such regard as<sup>3</sup> it be within his Compasse ; And not subiect to Deceit and Abuse of Servants ; And ordered to the best Shew<sup>4</sup>, that the Bills may be lesse then the Estimation  
 10 abroad. Certainly, if a Man will keep but of Even hand<sup>5</sup>, his Ordinary Expences ought to be but to the Halfe of his Receipts ; And if he thinke to waxe Rich, but to the Third Part. It is no Basenesse for the Greatest to descend and looke into their owne Estate. Some forbear<sup>6</sup> it, not upon<sup>6</sup>  
 15 Negligence alone, But doubting<sup>7</sup> to bring Themselves into Melancholy, in respect they shall finde it Broken<sup>8</sup>. But Wounds cannot be Cured without Searching. He that cannot looke into his own Estate at all, had need both Choose well those whom he employeth, and change them  
 20 often ; For New<sup>9</sup> are more Timorous and lesse Subtile. He that can looke into his Estate but seldome, it behoveth him to turne all to Certainties<sup>10</sup>. A Man had need, if he be Plentifull<sup>11</sup> in some kinde of Expence, to be as Saving againe in some other : As if he be Plentifull in Diet, to be  
 25 Saving in Apparell ; If he be Plentifull in the Hall<sup>12</sup>, to be Saving in the Stable ; And the like. For he that is Plentifull in Expences of all Kindes will hardly be preserved

<sup>1</sup> proportionate to<sup>2</sup> ruin, *i.e.* self-sacrifice<sup>3</sup> so regulated that<sup>4</sup> managed in such a way as to produce the greatest impression<sup>5</sup> wishes to keep solvent<sup>6</sup> from<sup>7</sup> fearing<sup>8</sup> in case they should find their fortune diminished<sup>9</sup> *i.e.* new servants<sup>10</sup> definitely to determine the items of his income and expenditure<sup>11</sup> lavish<sup>12</sup> hospitality

from Decay. In Clearing<sup>1</sup> of a Man's Estate, he may as well hurt Himselfe<sup>2</sup> in being too sudden as in letting it runne on too long. For hasty Selling<sup>3</sup> is commonly as Disadvantageable<sup>4</sup> as Interest. Besides, he that cleares at once will relapse; For finding himselfe out of Straights<sup>5</sup>, he will revert to his Customes; But hee that cleareth by Degrees, induceth a Habite of Frugalitie, and gaineth as well upon<sup>6</sup> his Minde as upon his Estate. Certainly, who<sup>7</sup> hath a State<sup>8</sup> to repaire may not despise small Things: And commonly, it is lesse dishonourable to abridge pettie Charges then to stoope to pettie Gettings. A Man ought warily to beginne Charges, which once begun will Continue: But in Matters that returne not he may be more Magnificent.

## XXIX

OF THE TRUE GREATNESSE OF KINGDOMES  
AND ESTATES<sup>9</sup>

THE Speech of Themistocles, the Athenian, which was Haughtie and Arrogant in taking so much to Himselfe, had been<sup>10</sup> a Grave and Wise Observation and Censure<sup>11</sup>, applied at large to others. Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small Towne a great Citty.* These Words (holpen a little with a Metaphore)<sup>12</sup> may expresse two differing Abilities in those that deale in Businesse of Estate<sup>13</sup>. For if a true Survey be taken of Counsellours and Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a Small State Great, and yet cannot Fiddle: As, on the other side, there will be

<sup>1</sup> *sc.* from debt<sup>2</sup> he may hurt himself just as much<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* the forced sale of a property<sup>4</sup> disadvantageous<sup>5</sup> straits, difficulties<sup>6</sup> in regard to<sup>7</sup> he who<sup>8</sup> an estate<sup>9</sup> States<sup>10</sup> would have been<sup>11</sup> judgment<sup>12</sup> transferred (to politicians) with a little licence<sup>13</sup> state



- found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly<sup>1</sup>, but yet are so farre from being able to make a Small State Great, as<sup>2</sup> their Gift lieth the other way; To bring a Great and  
 15 Flourishing Estate to Ruine and Decay. And certainly, those Degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Counsellours and Governours gaine both Favour with their Masters and Estimation with the Vulgar, deserve no better Name then Fiddling; Being Things rather pleasing for the  
 20 time and gracefull to themselves onely then tending to the Weale and Advancement of the State which they serve. There are also (no doubt) Counsellours and Governours, which<sup>3</sup> may be held sufficient<sup>4</sup>, (*Negotijs pares*,)<sup>5</sup> Able to mannage Affaires, and to keepe them from Precipices and  
 25 manifest Inconveniencies; which<sup>6</sup> neverthesse are farre from the Abilitie to raise and Amplifie an Estate, in Power, Meanes, and Fortune. But be the worke-men what they may be, let us speake of the Worke; That is, The true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates, and the Meanes  
 30 thereof: An Argument<sup>6</sup> fit for Great and Mightie Princes to have in their hand; To the end that, neither by Over-measuring their Forces they leese<sup>7</sup> themselves in vaine Enterprises, Nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them they descend to Fearefull<sup>8</sup> and Pusillanimous Counsellors.
- 35 The Greatnesse of an Estate in Bulke and Territorie doth fall under Measure<sup>9</sup>; And the Greatnesse of Finances and Renewal doth fall under Computation. The Population may appeare by Musters<sup>10</sup>; And the Number and Greatnesse of Cities and Townes, by Cards<sup>11</sup> and Maps.
- 40 But yet there is not any Thing, amongst Civill Affaires, more subiect to Errour then the right valuation and true Iudgement concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate.
- \* The Kingdome of Heaven is compared, not to any great Kernell or Nut, but to a *Graine of Mustard-seed*; which is  
 45 one of the least Graines, but hath in it a Propertie and

<sup>1</sup> skilfully<sup>2</sup> that<sup>3</sup> who<sup>4</sup> competent<sup>5</sup> equal to their work<sup>6</sup> a subject<sup>7</sup> lose<sup>8</sup> timid<sup>9</sup> admit of measurement<sup>10</sup> censuses<sup>11</sup> charts

Spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there States, great in Territorie, and yet not apt<sup>1</sup> to Enlarge or Command; And some that have but a small Dimension of Stemme, and yet apt to be the Foundations of Great Monarchies.

50

Walled Townes, Stored Arcenalls and Armouries, Goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of Warre, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like; All this is but a Sheep in a Lion's Skin, except the Breed and disposition of the People be stout<sup>2</sup> and warlike. Nay, Number (it selfe) in Armies importeth not much<sup>3</sup>, where the People is of weake Courage: For (as Virgil saith) *It never troubles a Wolfe, how many the sheepe be.* The Armie of the Persians, in the Plaines of Arbela, was such a vast Sea of People as<sup>4</sup> it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in Alexander's Armie; 60 Who came to him therefore, and wisht him to set upon them by Night; But hee answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory.* And the Defeat was Easie. When Tigranes the Armenian, being incamped upon a Hill with 400000 Men, discovered the Armie of the Romans, being not above 65 14000 Marching towards him, he made himselfe Merry with it, and said; *Yonder Men are too Many for an Ambassage<sup>5</sup>, and too Few for a Fight.* But before the Sunne sett, he found them enough to give him the Chace with infinite Slaughter. Many are the Examples of the great oddes 70 between Number and Courage<sup>6</sup>: So that a Man may truly make a Iudgement, That the Principal Point of Greatnesse in any State is to have a Race of Military Men. Neither is Money the Sinewes of Warre, (as it is trivially<sup>7</sup> said), where the Sinewes of Men's Armes, in Base and Effeminate 75 People, are failing. For Solon said well to Cræsus (when in Ostentation he shewed him his Gold), *Sir, if any Other come, that hath better Iron then you, he will be Master of all this Gold.* Therefore, let any Prince or State thinke soberly<sup>8</sup> of his Forces, except his Militia<sup>9</sup> of Natives be of good and 80

1 fit

2 valiant

3 is of no great importance

4 that

5 embassy

6 of the great odds in favour of courage over mere numbers

7 commonly

8 moderately

9 military force

Valiant Soldiers. And let Princes, on the other side, that have Subiects of Martiall disposition, know their owne Strength, unlesse they be otherwise wanting unto Themselves. As for Mercenary Forces, (which is the Helpe in this Case), all Examples shew, That, whatsoever Estate or Prince doth rest<sup>1</sup> upon them, *Hee may spread his Feathers for a time, but he will mew<sup>2</sup> them soone after.*

The Blessing of Iudah and Issachar will never meet; *That the same People or Nation should be both The Lion's whelp<sup>3</sup> and the Asse betweene Burthens*; Neither will it be that a People over-laid with Taxes should ever become Valiant and Martiall. It is true that Taxes levied by Consent of the Estate, doe abate<sup>4</sup> Men's Courage lesse; As it hath beene seene notably in the Excises of the Low Countries; And, in some degree, in the Subsidies<sup>5</sup> of England. For you must note that we speake now of the Heart<sup>6</sup>, and not of the Purse. So that, although the same Tribute and Tax, laid by Consent or by Imposing<sup>7</sup>, be all one to the Purse, yet it workes diversly upon the Courage. So that you may conclude, *That no People, over-charged<sup>8</sup> with Tribute, is fit for Empire.*

Let States that aime at Greatnesse take heed how their Nobility and Gentlemen doe multiply too fast. For that maketh the Common Subiect grow to be a Peasant and Base Swaine, driven out of Heart<sup>9</sup>, and in effect but the Gentleman's Labourer. Even as you may see in Coppice Woods; *If you leave your staddles<sup>10</sup> too thick, you shall never have cleane Underwood, but Shrubs and Bushes.* So in Countries, if the Gentlemen be too many, the Commons will be base; And you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll<sup>11</sup> will be fit for an Helmet: Especially as to the Infanterie, which is the Nerve of an Army: And so there will be Great Population and Little Strength. This which I speake of hath been no where better seen then by comparing of England and France; whereof England,

<sup>1</sup> depend<sup>2</sup> shed<sup>3</sup> diminish<sup>4</sup> parliamentary grants<sup>5</sup> courage<sup>6</sup> by arbitrary authority<sup>7</sup> overburdened<sup>8</sup> dispirited<sup>9</sup> young trees<sup>10</sup> not one head in a hundred

though farre lesse in Territory and Population, hath been (neverthesse) an Over-match; In regard<sup>1</sup> the Middle People of England make good Souldiers, which the Peasants of France doe not. And herein the device of King Henry the Seventh, (whereof I have spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was Profound and Admirable, In making Farmes and houses of Husbandry of a Standard,— That is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land unto them as may breed a Subiect to live in Convenient Plenty, and no Servile Condition; And to keepe<sup>2</sup> the Plough in the Hands of the Owners, and not meere Hirelings. And thus indeed you shall attaine to Virgil's Character, which he gives to Ancient Italy:

*Terra potens Armis atque ubere Glebæ<sup>3</sup>.*

Neither is that State<sup>4</sup> (which, for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in Poland) to be passed over; I meane the State of Free Servants<sup>5</sup> and Attendants upon Noblemen and Gentlemen, which are no waies inferiour unto the Yeomanry for Armes. And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour and Magnificence and great Retinues and Hospitality of Noblemen, and Gentlemen, received into Custome<sup>6</sup>, doth much conduce unto Martiall Greatnesse: Whereas, contrariwise, the Close and Reserved living of Noblemen and Gentlemen causeth a Penury of Military Forces.

By all meanes it is to be procured that the Trunck of Nebuchadnezzar's Tree of Monarchy be great enough to beare the Branches and the Boughes; That is, That the Naturall Subiects of the Crowne or State beare a sufficient Proportion to the Stranger Subiects that they governe. Therefore all States, that are liberall of Naturalization towards Strangers, are fit for Empire. For to thinke that an Handfull of People can, with the greatest Courage and Policy in the World, embrace too large Extent of Dominion,

<sup>1</sup> because

<sup>2</sup> in keeping

<sup>3</sup> A land mighty in arms and in the fruitfulness of its soil.

<sup>4</sup> class

<sup>5</sup> retainers

<sup>6</sup> when they have been established by custom

it may hold<sup>1</sup> for a time, but it will faile suddainly. The Spartans were a nice People in Point of Naturalization<sup>2</sup>; whereby, while they kept their Compasse<sup>3</sup>, they stood firme; But when they did spread, and their Boughs were  
 155 becommen too great for their Stem, they became a Wind-fall<sup>4</sup> upon the suddaine. Never any State was, in this Point, so open to receive Strangers into their Body as were the Romans. Therefore it sorted<sup>5</sup> with them accordingly; For they grew to the greatest Monarchy. Their manner  
 160 was to grant Naturalization, (which they called *Ius Civitatis*)<sup>6</sup> and to grant it in the highest Degree, That is, Not onely *Ius Commercij*<sup>7</sup>, *Ius Connubij*<sup>8</sup>, *Ius Hæreditatis*<sup>9</sup>, But also, *Ius Suffragij*<sup>10</sup>, and *Ius Honorum*<sup>11</sup>. And this, not to Singular Persons<sup>12</sup> alone, but likewise to whole Families;  
 165 yea to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Adde to this, their Custome of Plantation of Colonies, whereby the Roman Plant was removed into the Soile of other Nations. And putting both Constitutions together, you will say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the World, But it  
 170 was the World that spread upon the Romans; And that was the sure Way of Greatnesse. I have marvelled sometimes at Spaine, how they claspe and containe<sup>13</sup> so large Dominions, with so few Naturall Spaniards: But sure<sup>14</sup>, the whole Compasse of Spaine is a very Great Body of a Tree,  
 175 Farre above Rome, and Sparta at the first. And besides, though they have not had that usage to Naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; That is, *To employ almost indifferently*<sup>15</sup> *all Nations, in their Militia of ordinary Soldiers*; yea, and sometimes in their Highest Commands.  
 180 Nay, it seemeth at this instant they are sensible<sup>16</sup> of this want of Natives; as by the *Pragmaticall Sanction*, now published, appeareth.

<sup>1</sup> such an empire may last<sup>2</sup> very particular about naturalization<sup>3</sup> while they kept within their original limits<sup>4</sup> were blown down by the wind<sup>5</sup> turned out<sup>6</sup> right of citizenship<sup>7</sup> right of trading<sup>8</sup> right of marriage<sup>9</sup> right of inheritance<sup>10</sup> right of voting<sup>11</sup> right of holding office<sup>12</sup> not to individuals<sup>13</sup> keep together<sup>14</sup> surely<sup>15</sup> without distinction<sup>16</sup> conscious

It is certaine that Sedentary and Withindooore Arts, and delicate Manufactures (that require rather the Finger then the Arme) have, in their Nature, a Contrariety to a Military 185 disposition. And generally all Warlike People are a little idle, And love Danger better then Travaile<sup>1</sup>; Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be<sup>2</sup> preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great Advantage, in the Ancient States of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had 190 the use of Slaves, which commonly did rid those Manufactures<sup>3</sup>. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian Law. That which commeth nearest to it is to leave those Arts chiefly to Strangers, (which for that purpose are the more easily<sup>4</sup> to be received) and to containe<sup>5</sup> the 195 principall Bulke of the vulgar Natives<sup>6</sup> within those three kinds,—Tillers of the Ground; Free Servants; and Handy-Crafts-Men of Strong and Manly Arts, as Smiths, Masons, Carpenters, &c; Not reckoning Professed Souldiers.

But above all, for Empire and Greatnesse it importeth 200 most<sup>7</sup>, That a Nation doe professe Armes as their principall Honour, Study, and Occupation. For the Things which we formerly have spoken of are but Habilitations<sup>8</sup> towards Armes: And what is Habilitation without Intention and Act? Romulus, after his death (as they report, or faigne) 205 sent a Present<sup>9</sup> to the Romans, That, above all, they should intend<sup>10</sup> Armes, And then, they should prove the greatest Empire of the World. The Fabrick of the State of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that Scope<sup>11</sup> and End. The Persians and Macedonians 210 had it<sup>12</sup> for a flash<sup>13</sup>. The Galls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a Time. The Turks have it, at this day, though in great Declination<sup>14</sup>. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are, in effect, onely the Spaniards. But it is so plaine *That every Man profiteth in that hee most* 215

<sup>1</sup> work  
<sup>2</sup> are to be  
<sup>3</sup> got those manufactures done  
<sup>4</sup> readily  
<sup>5</sup> confine  
<sup>6</sup> of the lower-class natives  
<sup>7</sup> is of most importance  
<sup>8</sup> means of attaining ability

<sup>9</sup> bequeathed the advice  
<sup>10</sup> pay strict attention to  
<sup>11</sup> aim  
<sup>12</sup> i.e. had that object, namely,  
 attention to arms  
<sup>13</sup> for a moment  
<sup>14</sup> decay

*intendeth*<sup>1</sup>, that it needeth not to be stood upon<sup>2</sup>. It is enough to point at it, That no Nation, which doth not directly<sup>3</sup> professe Armes, may looke<sup>4</sup> to have Greatnesse fall into their Mouths. And, on the other side, it is a most  
 220 Certaine Oracle of Time<sup>5</sup>, That those States, that continue long in that Profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders. And those that have professed Armes but for an Age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that Greatnesse in that Age, which<sup>6</sup> maintained  
 225 them long after, when their Profession and Exercise of Armes hath growen to decay.

Incident to this Point is, For a State to have those Lawes or Customes which may reach forth unto them iust Occasions<sup>7</sup> (as may be pretended)<sup>8</sup> of Warre. For there is  
 230 that<sup>9</sup> Iustice imprinted in the Nature of Men, that they enter not upon Wars (whereof so many Calamities doe ensue) but upon some, at the least Specious, Grounds and Quarells<sup>10</sup>. The Turke hath at hand, for Cause of Warre, the Propagation of his Law or Sect, A Quarell that he may  
 235 alwaies Command. The Romans, though they esteemed the Extending the Limits of their Empire to be great Honour to their Generalls when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a Warre. First, therefore, let Nations that pretend to<sup>11</sup> Greatnesse have this; That  
 240 they be sensible of<sup>12</sup> Wrongs, either upon Borderers<sup>13</sup>, Merchants, or Politique Ministers<sup>14</sup>; And that they sit not<sup>15</sup> too long upon a Provocation. Secondly, let them be prest<sup>16</sup> and ready to give Aids and Succours to their Confederates: As it ever was with the Romans; In so much as<sup>17</sup> if the  
 245 Confederate had Leagues Defensive with divers other States, and upon Invasion offered<sup>18</sup> did implore their Aides severally,

<sup>1</sup> every man makes most progress  
 in that to which he mainly directs  
 his mind

<sup>2</sup> insisted on

<sup>3</sup> avowedly

<sup>4</sup> may expect

<sup>5</sup> truth taught by history

<sup>6</sup> a greatness which

<sup>7</sup> which may supply it with just  
 pretexts

<sup>8</sup> put forward

<sup>9</sup> such

<sup>10</sup> causes

<sup>11</sup> aim at

<sup>12</sup> sensitive to

<sup>13</sup> dependants on the border

<sup>14</sup> ministers of state

<sup>15</sup> that they do not sit still

<sup>16</sup> prompt

<sup>17</sup> that

<sup>18</sup> when threatened with invasion

yet the Romans would ever bee the formost, and leave it to none Other to have the Honour. As for the Warres which were anciently made on the behalfe of a kinde of Partie, or tacite Conformitie of Estate<sup>1</sup>, I doe not see how 250 they may be well iustified: As when the Romans made a Warre for the Libertie of Grecia: Or when the Lacedemonians and Athenians made Warres to set up or pull downe Democracies and Oligarchies: Or when Warres were made by Forrainers, under the pretence of Iustice or Pro- 255 tection, to deliver the Subiects of others from Tyrannie and Oppression; And the like. Let it suffice, That no Estate expect to be Great, that is not awake upon any iust Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be healthfull without Exercise, neither 260 Naturall Body nor Politique: And certainly, to a Kingdome or Estate, a Iust and Honourable Warre is the true Exercise. A Civill Warre, indeed, is like the Heat of a Fever; But a Forraine Warre is like the Heat of Exercise, and serveth to keepe the Body in Health: For in a Slothfull Peace, 265 both Courages will effeminate and Manners Corrupt<sup>2</sup>. But howsoever it be for Happinesse, without all Question, for Greatnesse it maketh to bee still<sup>3</sup>, for the most Part, in Armes; And the Strength of a Veteran Armie, (though it be a chargeable<sup>4</sup> Businesse), alwaies on Foot<sup>5</sup>, is that 270 which commonly giveth the Law<sup>6</sup>, Or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour States; As may well bee seene in Spaine, which hath had, in one Part or other, a Veteran Armie, almost continually, now by the Space of<sup>7</sup> Six-score yeeres.

To be Master of the Sea is an Abridgement of a 275 Monarchy<sup>8</sup>. Cicero writing to Atticus, of Pompey his Preparation against Cæsar, saith; *Consilium Pompeij planè Themistocleum est; Putat enim, qui Mari potitur, eum*

<sup>1</sup> in support of some particular party in a state, or on account of implied similarity of political institutions

<sup>2</sup> spirits will become effeminate and morals be corrupted

<sup>3</sup> it is advantageous to be al-

ways

<sup>4</sup> expensive

<sup>5</sup> in readiness

<sup>6</sup> confers supremacy

<sup>7</sup> during

<sup>8</sup> an epitome of monarchy, the essence of sovereignty



280 *Rerum potiri*<sup>1</sup>. And, without doubt, Pompey had<sup>a</sup> tired out Cæsar, if upon vaine Confidence he had not left that Way<sup>a</sup>. We see the great Effects of Battailles by Sea. The Battaile of Actium decided the Empire of the World. The Battaile of Lepanto arrested the Greatnesse of the Turke.

285 There be many Examples, where Sea-Fights have beene Finall to<sup>a</sup> the warre; But this is when Princes or States have set up their Rest<sup>a</sup> upon the Battailles. But thus much is certaine, That hee that Commands the Sea, is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the Warre as

290 he will. Whereas those that be strongest by land are many times neverthelesse in great Straights. Surely, at this Day, with us of Europe, the Vantage of Strength at Sea (which is one of the Principall Dowries of this Kindome of Great Brittain) is Great; Both because Most of the Kingdomes

295 of Europe are not meerely<sup>a</sup> Inland, but girt with the Sea most part of their Compasse<sup>7</sup>; And because the Wealth of both Indies seemes in great Part but an Accessary to the Command of the Seas.

The Warres of Latter Ages seeme to be made in the

300 Darke, in Respect of<sup>a</sup> the Glory and Honour which reflected upon Men from the Warres in Ancient Time. There be now, for Martiall Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry; which, neverthelesse, are conferred promiscuously upon Soldiers and no Soldiers; And some

305 Remembrance perhaps upon the Scutchion; And some Hospitals for Maimed Soldiers; And such like Things. But in Ancient Times, The Trophies erected upon the Place of the Victory; The Funerall Laudatives<sup>a</sup> and Monuments for those that died in the Wars; The Crowns and

310 Garlands Personal<sup>10</sup>; The Stile of Emperor<sup>11</sup>, which the Great Kings of the World after borrowed; The Triumphes<sup>12</sup> of the Generalls upon their Returne; The great Donatives

<sup>1</sup> Pompey's policy is clearly that of Themistocles, for he thinks that whoever is master of the sea is master of the situation.

<sup>a</sup> would have

<sup>3</sup> abandoned that line of action

<sup>4</sup> have put an end to

<sup>5</sup> have staked everything

<sup>6</sup> entirely

<sup>7</sup> boundaries

<sup>8</sup> compared with

<sup>9</sup> panegyrics

<sup>10</sup> granted to individual soldiers

<sup>11</sup> the title Imperator

<sup>12</sup> triumphal processions

and Largesses<sup>1</sup> upon the Disbanding of the Armies, were Things able to enflame all Men's Courages. But above all, That of the Triumph<sup>2</sup>, amongst the Romans, was not 315 Pageants or Gauderie<sup>3</sup>, but one of the Wisest and Noblest Institutions that ever was. For it contained three Things,—Honour to the Generall; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoiles; And Donatives to the Army. But that Honour, perhaps, were not fit<sup>4</sup> for Monarchies, Except it be in the 320 Person of the Monarch himselfe or his Sonnes; As it came to passe, in the Times of the Roman Emperours, who did impropriate<sup>5</sup> the Actuall Triumphs to Themselves and their Sonnes, for such Wars as they did atchieve in Person, And left onely, for Wars atchieved by Subiects, some Triumphall 325 Garments and Ensignes<sup>6</sup> to the Generall.

To conclude; No Man can by *Care taking* (as the Scripture saith) *adde a Cubite to his Stature*, in this little Modell of a Man's Body<sup>7</sup>: But in the Great Frame of Kingdomes and Common Wealths, it is in the power of 330 Princes or Estates<sup>8</sup> to adde Amplitude and Greatnesse to their Kingdomes. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions, and Customes, as we have now touched<sup>9</sup>, they may sow Greatnesse to their Posteritie and Succession. But these Things are commonly not Observed, but left to 335 take their Chance.

### XXX

#### OF REGIMENT<sup>10</sup> OF HEALTH

THERE is a wisdome in this beyond the Rules of Physicke: A Man's owne Observation, what he findes Good of<sup>11</sup> and what he findes Hurt of<sup>11</sup>, is the best Physicke

<sup>1</sup> gifts and bounties  
<sup>2</sup> the institution of the Triumph  
<sup>3</sup> empty display  
<sup>4</sup> would not be fit  
<sup>5</sup> appropriate  
<sup>6</sup> decorations  
<sup>7</sup> in the case of his body, which

is a copy in miniature of a great state

<sup>8</sup> rulers  
<sup>9</sup> touched upon

<sup>10</sup> Regiment Management

<sup>11</sup> find

- to preserve Health. But it is a safer Conclusion to say,—
- 5 *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it, Then this; I finde no offence of this<sup>1</sup>, therefore I may use it.* For Strength of Nature in youth passeth over many Excesses which are owing a Man till his Age<sup>2</sup>. Discerne<sup>3</sup> of the comming on of Yeares, and thinke not to doe the
- 10 same Things still<sup>4</sup>; For Age will not be Defied. Beware of sudden Change in any great point of Diet, and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it<sup>5</sup>. For it is a Secret, both in Nature and State<sup>6</sup>, That it is safer to change Many Things then one. Examine thy Customes of Diet, Sleepe, Exercise,
- 15 Apparell, and the like; And trie, in any Thing thou shalt iudge hurtfull, to discontinue it by little and little; But so as<sup>7</sup> if thou doest finde any Inconvenience by the Change, thou come backe to it againe: For it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome from that
- 20 which is good particularly<sup>8</sup> and fit for thine owne Body. To be free minded<sup>9</sup> and cheerefully disposed, at Houres of Meat<sup>10</sup> and of Sleep and of Exercise, is one of the best Precepts of Long lasting<sup>11</sup>. As for the Passions and Studies<sup>12</sup> of the Minde, Avoid Envie, Anxious Feares, Anger fretting
- 25 inwards, Subtill and knottie Inquisitions<sup>13</sup>, Ioyes and Exhilarations in Excesse, Sadnesse not Communicated. Entertaine Hopes; Mirth rather then Ioy; Varietie of Delights rather then Surfet of them; Wonder and Admiration, and therefore Novelties; Studies that fill the Minde with Splendide
- 30 and Illustrious Obiects, as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you flie Physicke in Health altogether, it will be too strange for your Body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will worke no Extraordinary Effect when Sicknesse commeth. I com-
- 35 mend<sup>14</sup> rather some Diet for certaine Seasons then frequent Use of Physicke, Except it be grown into a Custome.

1 This does me no harm  
 2 which a man will have to pay  
 for in his old age  
 3 Take heed  
 4 always  
 5 adapt your habits to it  
 6 politics  
 7 in such a way that

8 in your own case  
 9 free from anxiety  
 10 meal-times  
 11 for long life  
 12 desires  
 13 inquiries  
 14 recommend

For those Diets alter the Body more and trouble it lesse. Despise no new Accident<sup>1</sup> in your Body, but aske Opinion of it<sup>2</sup>. In Sicknesse, respect<sup>3</sup> Health principally, And in Health, Action<sup>4</sup>. For those that put their Bodies to 40 endure<sup>5</sup> in Health may, in most Sicknesses which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with Diet and Tendering<sup>6</sup>. Celsus could never have spoken it as a Physician, had he not been a Wise Man withall, when he giveth it, for one of the great precepts of Health and Lasting, That a Man doe 45 vary and enterchange Contraries, But with an Inclination to the more benigne Extreme: Use<sup>7</sup> Fasting and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting and Exercise, but rather Exercise; and the like. So shall Nature be cherished, and yet taught 50 Masteries<sup>8</sup>. Physicians are some of them so pleasing<sup>9</sup> and conformable to the Humor of the Patient as<sup>10</sup> they presse not the true Cure of the Disease; And some other are so Regular, in proceeding according to Art for the Disease, as<sup>10</sup> they respect not sufficiently the Condition of the Patient. 55 Take one of a Middle Temper<sup>11</sup>; Or, if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either sort<sup>12</sup>; And forget not to call<sup>13</sup>, as well the best acquainted with your Body as the best reputed of for his Faculty<sup>14</sup>.

### XXXI

#### OF SUSPICION

SUSPICIONS amongst Thoughts are like Bats amongst Birds; they ever fly by Twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded<sup>15</sup>: For they cloud the

<sup>1</sup> symptom  
<sup>2</sup> take advice about it  
<sup>3</sup> have regard to  
<sup>4</sup> exercise  
<sup>5</sup> to take vigorous exercise  
<sup>6</sup> nursing  
<sup>7</sup> Practise  
<sup>8</sup> taught how to get the better of disease

<sup>9</sup> complaisant  
<sup>10</sup> that  
<sup>11</sup> temperament  
<sup>12</sup> i.e. take one of each sort and combine them  
<sup>13</sup> to call in  
<sup>14</sup> professional skill  
<sup>15</sup> kept well in check

Minde; they leese<sup>1</sup> Friends; and they checke<sup>2</sup> with Busi-  
 5 nesse, whereby Businesse cannot goe on currantly<sup>3</sup> and  
 constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to  
 Jealousie, Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They  
 are Defects, not in the Heart, but in the Braine<sup>4</sup>; For they  
 take Place in the Stoutest<sup>5</sup> Natures: As in the Example  
 10 of Henry the Seventh of England: There was not a more  
 Suspicious Man, nor a more Stout. And in such a Com-  
 position<sup>6</sup> they doe small Hurt. For commonly they are  
 not admitted but with Examination whether they be likely<sup>7</sup>  
 or no? But in fearefull<sup>8</sup> Natures they gaine Ground too  
 15 fast. There is Nothing makes a Man Suspect much, more  
 then to Know little; And therefore Men should remedy  
 Suspicion by procuring<sup>9</sup> to know more, and not to keep  
 their Suspicions in Smother<sup>10</sup>. What would Men have?  
 Doe they thinke those they employ and deale with are  
 20 Saints? Doe they not thinke they will have their owne  
 Ends, and be truer to Themselves then to them? There-  
 fore, there is no better Way to moderate Suspicions then to  
 account upon<sup>11</sup> such Suspicions as true, and yet to bridle  
 them as false. For so farre a Man ought to make use of  
 25 Suspicions as to provide as<sup>12</sup>, if that should be true that he  
 Suspects, yet it may doe him no Hurt. Suspicions, that  
 the Minde of it selfe gathers, are but Buzzes; But Suspi-  
 cions, that are artificially nourished<sup>13</sup> and put into Men's  
 Heads by the Tales and Whisprings of others, have Stings.  
 30 Certainly, the best Meane<sup>14</sup> to cleare the Way in this same  
 Wood of Suspicions is franckly to communicate them with<sup>15</sup>  
 the Partie that he Suspects; For thereby he shall be sure  
 to know more of the Truth of them then he did before,  
 And withall shall make that Party more circumspect not to  
 35 give further Cause of Suspicion. But this would<sup>16</sup> not be

<sup>1</sup> cause the loss of<sup>2</sup> interfere<sup>3</sup> smoothly<sup>4</sup> not of courage but of intellect<sup>5</sup> bravest<sup>6</sup> temperament<sup>7</sup> well-grounded<sup>8</sup> timid<sup>9</sup> contriving<sup>10</sup> should not brood over their  
suspicions<sup>11</sup> deal with<sup>12</sup> that<sup>13</sup> nourished by the arts of other  
people<sup>14</sup> means<sup>15</sup> to<sup>16</sup> should

done to Men of base Natures ; For they, if they finde themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian saies : *Sospetto licentia fede*<sup>1</sup> ; As if Suspicion did give a Pasport to Faith<sup>2</sup> ; But it ought rather to kindle it to discharge it selfe<sup>3</sup>.

40

## XXXII

OF DISCOURSE<sup>4</sup>

SOME in their Discourse<sup>4</sup> desire rather Commendation of Wit<sup>5</sup>, in being able to hold all Arguments<sup>6</sup>, then of Iudgment, in discerning what is True ; As if it were a Praise to know what might be Said, and not what should be Thought. Some have certaine Common Places<sup>7</sup> and Theames wherein 5 they are good, and want Variety ; Which kinde of Poverty is for the most part Tedious, and when it is once perceived Ridiculous. The Honourablest Part of Talke is to give the Occasion<sup>8</sup> ; And againe to Moderate<sup>9</sup> and passe to somewhat else ; For then a Man leads the Daunce. It is 10 good, in Discourse and Speech of Conversation, to vary and entermingle Speech of the present Occasion with Arguments<sup>10</sup> ; Tales with Reasons ; Asking of Questions with telling of Opinions ; and Iest with Earnest : For it is a dull Thing to Tire and, as we say now, to Iade any Thing too 15 farre<sup>11</sup>. As for Iest, there be certaine Things which ought to be priviledged from it ; Namely, Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, Any Man's present Businesse of Importance, And any Case that deserveth Pitty. Yet there be some that thinke their Wits have been asleepe, Except they 20

<sup>1</sup> Suspicion gives fidelity its discharge.

<sup>2</sup> gave loyalty leave to take its departure

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* The fact that he is suspected ought rather to stimulate a man of good faith to free himself from the suspicion.

<sup>4</sup> Conversation

<sup>5</sup> their cleverness

<sup>6</sup> to maintain any proposition

<sup>7</sup> certain subjects

<sup>8</sup> set the conversation going

<sup>9</sup> check it

<sup>10</sup> *i.e.* mingle conversation upon matters of merely present interest with discussions of subjects of permanent interest

<sup>11</sup> to ride a subject to death

dart out somewhat that is Piquant and to the Quicke<sup>1</sup>: That is a Vaine which would be brideled<sup>2</sup>;

*Parce Puer stimulis, et fortius utere Loris*<sup>3</sup>.

And generally, Men ought to finde the difference between  
 25 Saltnesse<sup>4</sup> and Bitternesse. Certainly, he that hath a  
 Satyricall vaine, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit,  
 so he had need be afraid of others' Memory. He that  
 questioneth much shall learne much and content<sup>5</sup> much;  
 But especially if he apply<sup>6</sup> his Questions to the Skill of the  
 30 Persons whom he asketh; For he shall give them occasion<sup>7</sup>  
 to please themselves in Speaking, and himselfe shall con-  
 tinually gather Knowledge. But let his Questions not be  
 troublesome; For that<sup>8</sup> is fit for a Poser<sup>9</sup>. And let him  
 be sure to leave other Men their Turnes to speak. Nay, if  
 35 there be any that would raigne<sup>10</sup> and take up all the time,  
 let him finde meanes to take them off and to bring Others  
 on, As Musicians use to doe with those that dance too long  
 Galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of  
 that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another  
 40 time to know that you know not. Speach of<sup>11</sup> a Man's Selfe  
 ought to be seldome, and well chosen. I knew One was  
 wont to say in Scorne, *He must needs be a Wise Man, he  
 speakes so much of Himselfe*: And there is but one Case,  
 wherein a Man may Commend Himselfe with good Grace,  
 45 And that is in commending Vertue in Another, Especially  
 if it be such a Vertue whereunto Himselfe pretendeth<sup>12</sup>.  
 Speech of Touch towards Others<sup>13</sup> should be sparingly used:  
 For Discourse ought to be as a Field, without comming  
 home to any Man. I knew two Noblemen of the West  
 50 Part of England, Whereof the one was given to Scoffe, but  
 kept ever Royal Cheere in his House: The other would

<sup>1</sup> biting

<sup>2</sup> a disposition which ought to be checked

<sup>3</sup> Spare the whip, boy, and tug harder at the reins.

<sup>4</sup> wit

<sup>5</sup> please other people

<sup>6</sup> adapt

<sup>7</sup> opportunity

<sup>8</sup> viz. asking troublesome ques-  
 tions

<sup>9</sup> an examiner

<sup>10</sup> wants to domineer

<sup>11</sup> about

<sup>12</sup> lays claim

<sup>13</sup> Remarks that have a bearing on other people

aske of those that had beene at the Other's Table, *Tell truly, was there never a Flout or drie Blow given*<sup>1</sup>? To which the Guest would answer, *Such and such a Thing passed*: The Lord would say, *I thought he would marre a* 55 *good Dinner*. Discretion of Speech is more then Eloquence; And to speak agreeably<sup>2</sup> to him, with whom we deale, is more then to speake in good Words or in good Order. A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution<sup>3</sup>, shews Slownesse; And a Good Reply or Second 60 Speech, without a good Setled Speech<sup>4</sup>, sheweth Shallownesse and Weaknesse. As we see in Beasts that those that are Weakest in the Course<sup>5</sup> are yet Nimblest in the Turne; As it is betwixt the Grey-hound and the Hare. To use too many Circumstances<sup>6</sup>, ere one come to the Matter, is Weari- 65 some; To use none at all, is Blunt<sup>7</sup>.

## XXXIII

OF PLANTATIONS<sup>8</sup>

PLANTATIONS<sup>8</sup> are amongst Ancient, Primitive, and Heroicall Workes. When the World was young, it begate more Children; But now it is old, it begets fewer: For I may iustly account new Plantations to be the Children of former Kingdomes. I like a Plantation in a Pure Soile<sup>9</sup>; 5 that is, where People are not Displanted to the end to Plant in Others. For else, it is rather an Extirpation then a Plantation. Planting of Countries is like Planting of Woods; For you must make account to leese<sup>10</sup> almost Twenty yeeres' Profit, and expect your Recompence in 10 the end. For the Principall Thing, that hath beene the

<sup>1</sup> was there no taunt or hard hit given?

<sup>2</sup> in a style suited

<sup>3</sup> without conversational readiness

<sup>4</sup> without the ability to make a set speech

<sup>5</sup> in running

<sup>6</sup> To make too many introductory remarks

<sup>7</sup> abrupt

<sup>8</sup> Colonies

<sup>9</sup> unoccupied territory

<sup>10</sup> reckon upon losing



Destruction of most Plantations, hath beene the Base and Hastie drawing of Profit in the first Yeeres. It is true, Speedie Profit is not to be neglected, as farre as may stand  
 15 with<sup>1</sup> the Good of the Plantation, but no further. It is a Shamefull and Unblessed Thing to take the Scumme of People and Wicked Condemned Men to be the People with whom you Plant: And not only so, but it spoileth the Plantation; For they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall  
 20 to worke, but be Lazie, and doe Mischiefe, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and then Certifie<sup>2</sup> over to their Country to the Discredit of the Plantation. The People wherewith you Plant ought to be Gardners, Ploughmen, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Ioyners, Fisher-men,  
 25 Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cookes, and Bakers. In a Country of Plantation, first looke about, what kinde of Victuall the Countrie yeelds of it selfe to Hand; As Chestnuts, Wallnuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plummes, Cherries, Wilde-Hony, and the like; and make  
 30 use of them. Then consider what Victuall or Esculent<sup>3</sup> Things there are, which grow speedily and within the yeere; As Parsnips, Carrets, Turnips, Onions, Radish, Artichokes of Hierusalem<sup>4</sup>, Maiz, and the like. For<sup>5</sup> Wheat, Barly, and Oats, they aske<sup>6</sup> too much Labour; But with Pease  
 35 and Beanes you may begin, Both because they aske lesse Labour, and because they serve for Meat<sup>7</sup> as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise commeth a great Encrease, and it is a kinde of Meat<sup>7</sup>. Above all, there ought to be brought Store of Bisket, Oat-meale, Flower, Meale, and the  
 40 like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For<sup>5</sup> Beasts or Birds, take chiefly such as are least Subiect to Diseases, and Multiply fastest; As Swine, Goats, Cockes, Hennes, Turkeys, Geese, House-doves, and the like. The Victuall in Plantations ought to be expended<sup>8</sup> almost as in a Be-  
 45 sieged Towne; That is, with certaine<sup>9</sup> Allowance. And let the Maine Part of the Ground employed<sup>10</sup> to Gardens

<sup>1</sup> be consistent with<sup>2</sup> send information<sup>3</sup> eatable<sup>4</sup> Jerusalem artichokes<sup>5</sup> As for<sup>6</sup> demand, require<sup>7</sup> food<sup>8</sup> doled out<sup>9</sup> fixed<sup>10</sup> assigned

or Corne bee to<sup>1</sup> a Common Stocke; And to be Laid in<sup>2</sup>, and Stored up, and then Delivered out in Proportion; Besides some Spots of Ground that any Particular Person will Manure for his owne Private<sup>3</sup>. Consider likewise what 50 Commodities the Soile, where the Plantation is, doth naturally yeeld, that they may some way helpe to defray the Charge of the Plantation: So<sup>4</sup> it be not, as was said, to the untimely Preiudice<sup>5</sup> of the maine Businesse; As it hath fared with Tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly 55 aboundeth but too-much; And therefore, Timber is fit to be one. If there be Iron Ure<sup>6</sup>, and Streames whereupon to set the Milles, Iron is a brave<sup>7</sup> Commoditie where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in Experience<sup>8</sup>. Growing Silke<sup>9</sup> like- 60 wise, if any be<sup>10</sup>, is a likely<sup>11</sup> Commoditie. Pitch and Tarre, where store of Firres and Pines are, will not faile. So Drugs, and Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yeeld great Profit: Soape Ashes<sup>12</sup> likewise, and other Things, that may be thought of. But moile<sup>13</sup> not too much under 65 Ground; For the Hope of Mines is very Uncertaine, and useth to make the Planters Lazie in other Things. For<sup>14</sup> Government, let it be in the Hands of one, assisted with some Counsell: And let them have Commission to exercise Martiall Lawes, with some limitation. And above all, let 70 Men make that Profit of being<sup>15</sup> in the Wildernesse, as<sup>16</sup> they have God alwaies, and his Service, before their Eyes. Let not the Government of the Plantation depend upon too many Counsellours and Undertakers<sup>17</sup> in the Countrie that Planteth, but upon a temperate<sup>18</sup> Number; And let 75 those be rather Noblemen and Gentlemen then Merchants; For they looke ever to the present Gaine. Let there be

<sup>1</sup> for  
<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* let the stock be laid in  
<sup>3</sup> will cultivate for his own particular use  
<sup>4</sup> provided that  
<sup>5</sup> detriment  
<sup>6</sup> ore  
<sup>7</sup> an excellent  
<sup>8</sup> ought to be tried  
<sup>9</sup> vegetable silk

<sup>10</sup> if there is any  
<sup>11</sup> promising  
<sup>12</sup> alkalies  
<sup>13</sup> work  
<sup>14</sup> As regards  
<sup>15</sup> a profit of this kind from being  
<sup>16</sup> that  
<sup>17</sup> contractors *or* directors  
<sup>18</sup> moderate

Freedomes from Custome<sup>1</sup>, till the Plantation be of Strength:  
 And not only Freedome from Custome, but Freedome to  
 80 carrie their Commodities where they may make their Best  
 of them, except there be some speciall Cause of Caution.  
 Cramme not in People by sending too fast Company after  
 Company; But rather hearken how they waste<sup>2</sup>, and send  
 Supplies proportionably; But so as<sup>3</sup> the Number may live  
 85 well in the Plantation, and not by Surcharge<sup>4</sup> be in Penury.  
 It hath beene a great Endangering to the Health of some  
 Plantations that they have built along the Sea and Rivers,  
 in Marish<sup>5</sup> and unwholesome Grounds. Therefore, though  
 you begin there, to avoid Carriage and other like Dis-  
 90 commodities<sup>6</sup>, yet build still<sup>7</sup> rather upwards from the  
 Streames then along. It concerneth likewise the Health  
 of the Plantation that they have good Store of Salt with  
 them, that they may use it in their Victualls when it shall  
 be necessary. If you Plant where Savages are, doe not  
 95 onely entertaine them with Trifles and Gingles<sup>8</sup>, But use<sup>9</sup>  
 them iustly and graciously, with sufficient Guard<sup>10</sup> never-  
 thelesse: And doe not winne their favour by helping them  
 to invade their Enemies, but for their Defence it<sup>11</sup> is not  
 amisse. And send oft of them<sup>12</sup> over to the Country that  
 100 Plants, that they may see a better Condition then their  
 owne, and commend it when they returne. When the  
 Plantation grows to Strength, then it is time to Plant with  
 Women as well as with Men, That the Plantation may  
 spread into Generations, and not be ever peece<sup>13</sup> from  
 105 without. It is the sinfulllest Thing in the world to forsake  
 or destitute<sup>14</sup> a Plantation once in Forwardnesse: For  
 besides the Dishonour, it is the Guiltinesse of Bloud of  
 many Commiserable Persons<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> exemption from duties on im-  
ports and exports

<sup>2</sup> observe how the population  
diminishes

<sup>3</sup> that

<sup>4</sup> by excessive numbers

<sup>5</sup> marshy

<sup>6</sup> inconveniences

<sup>7</sup> always

<sup>8</sup> rattles

<sup>9</sup> treat

<sup>10</sup> caution

<sup>11</sup> viz. to help them

<sup>12</sup> some of them

<sup>13</sup> continually replenished

<sup>14</sup> abandon

<sup>15</sup> persons deserving compassion

## XXXIV

## OF RICHES

I CANNOT call Riches better then the Baggage of Vertue. The Roman Word is better, *Impedimenta*. For as the Baggage is to an Army, so is Riches to Vertue. It cannot be spared, nor left behinde, but it hindreth the March; Yea, and the care of it, sometimes, loseth or disturbeth the Victory. Of great Riches there is no Reall Use, except it be in the Distribution; The rest is but Conceit<sup>1</sup>. So saith Salomon; *Where much is, there are Many to consume it; And what hath the Owner but the Sight of it with his Eyes?* The Personall Fruition in any Man cannot reach to feele<sup>2</sup> Great Riches: There is a Custody of them<sup>3</sup>; Or a Power of Dole and Donative of them<sup>4</sup>; Or a Fame of them<sup>5</sup>; But no Solid Use to the Owner. Doe you not see what fained<sup>6</sup> Prices are set upon little Stones and Rarities? And what Works of Ostentation<sup>7</sup> are undertaken, because<sup>8</sup> there might seeme to be some Use of great Riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles. As Salomon saith; *Riches are as a strong Hold, in the Imagination of the Rich Man*. But this is excellently expressed, that it is in Imagination, and not alwaies in Fact. For certainly Great Riches have sold more Men then they have bought out. Seeke not Proud Riches<sup>9</sup>, but such as thou maist get iustly, Use soberly, Distribute cheerefully, and Leave contentedly. Yet have no Abstract nor Friarly Contempt of them<sup>9</sup>. But distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus; *In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat non Avaritiæ Prædam, sed Instrumentum Bonitatis*

<sup>1</sup> fancy<sup>2</sup> cannot derive the benefit of<sup>3</sup> There is the taking care of them<sup>4</sup> or the power of distributing them and making presents with them<sup>5</sup> or a reputation from having

them

<sup>6</sup> fanciful<sup>7</sup> in order that<sup>8</sup> ostentatious wealth<sup>9</sup> entertain no contempt for them such as is felt by a hermit or a friar

*quæri*<sup>1</sup>. Harken also to Salomon, and beware of Hasty  
 30 Gathering of Riches: *Qui festinat ad Divitias, non erit insons*<sup>2</sup>. The Poets faigne that when Plutus, (which is Riches,) is sent from Iupiter, he limps and goes slowly; But when he is sent from Pluto, he runnes and is Swift of Foot; Meaning, that Riches gotten by Good Meanes and  
 35 Iust Labour pace<sup>3</sup> slowly; But when they come by the death of Others, (As by the Course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like,) they come tumbling upon a Man. But it mought<sup>4</sup> be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the Devill. For when Riches come from the Devill, (as  
 40 by Fraud and Oppression and uniust Meanes,) they come upon<sup>5</sup> Speed. The Waies to enrich<sup>6</sup> are many, and most of them Foule. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not Innocent; For it with-holdeth Men from Workes of Liberality and Charity. The Improvement of the Ground  
 45 is the most Naturall Obtaining of Riches; For it is our Great Mother's Blessing, the Earth's; But it is slow. And yet, where Men of great wealth doe stoope to husbandry, it multiplieth Riches exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman in England that had the greatest Audits<sup>7</sup> of any Man in my  
 50 Time: A Great Grasier, A Great Sheepe-Master, A Great Timber Man, A Great Colliar<sup>8</sup>, A Great Corne-Master, A Great Lead-Man, and so of Iron, and a Number of the like Points of Husbandry<sup>9</sup>; So as<sup>10</sup> the Earth seemed a Sea to him, in respect of the Perpetuall Importation. It was truly  
 55 observed by One, that Himselfe<sup>11</sup> came very hardly<sup>12</sup> to a Little Riches, and very easily to Great Riches. For when a Man's Stocke is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome those Bargaines, which for their greatnesse are few Men's Money<sup>13</sup>, and be Partner

<sup>1</sup> In his desire to increase his fortune, it was evident that he aimed, not at gratifying avarice, but at obtaining the means of beneficence.

<sup>2</sup> He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent.

<sup>3</sup> advance

<sup>4</sup> might

<sup>5</sup> with

<sup>6</sup> grow rich

<sup>7</sup> rent-roll

<sup>8</sup> coal-owner

<sup>9</sup> industrial pursuits

<sup>10</sup> so that

<sup>11</sup> he himself

<sup>12</sup> with great difficulty

<sup>13</sup> When a man's capital is so

in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but encrease 60  
mainely<sup>1</sup>. The Gaines of Ordinary Trades and Vocations  
are honest, And furthered by two Things, chiefly; By Dili-  
gence, And By a good Name for good and faire dealing.  
But the Gaines of Bargaines are of a more doubtfull Nature,  
When Men shall waite upon<sup>2</sup> Others' Necessity, broake<sup>3</sup> 65  
by Servants and Instruments to draw them on, Put off  
Others cunningly that would be better Chapmen<sup>4</sup>, and the  
like Practises<sup>5</sup>, which are Crafty and Naught<sup>6</sup>. As for the  
Chopping of Bargaines, when a Man Buies, not to Hold,  
but to Sell over againe, that commonly Grindeth double<sup>7</sup>, 70  
both upon the Seller and upon the Buyer. Sharings<sup>8</sup> doe  
greatly Enrich, if the Hands be well chosen that are trusted.  
Usury<sup>9</sup> is the certaine Meanes of Gaine, though one of  
the worst; As that whereby a Man doth eate his Bread,  
*In sudore vultus alieni*<sup>10</sup>; And besides, doth Plough upon 75  
Sundaies. But yet, Certaine though it be, it hath Flawes<sup>11</sup>;  
For that<sup>12</sup> the Scriveners<sup>13</sup> and Broakers doe valed<sup>14</sup> unsound  
Men, to serve their owne Turne. The Fortune in being  
the First in an Invention<sup>15</sup>, or in a Priviledge, doth cause  
sometimes a wonderfull Overgrowth in Riches; As it was 80  
with the first Sugar Man, in the Canaries: Therefore, if a  
Man can play the true Logician, to have as well Iudgement  
as Invention, he may do great Matters; especially if the  
Times be fit. He that resteth<sup>16</sup> upon Gaines Certaine, shall  
hardly<sup>17</sup> grow to great Riches: And he that puts all upon 85  
Adventures<sup>18</sup>, doth often times breake and come to Poverty:  
It is good, therefore, to guárd Adventures with Certainities  
that may uphold<sup>19</sup> losses. Monopolies and Coemption<sup>20</sup> of

large that he can wait for a favour-  
able state of the market and get  
the best of those bargains which  
are beyond most men's means

<sup>1</sup> greatly

<sup>2</sup> must watch for

<sup>3</sup> do business

<sup>4</sup> buyers

<sup>5</sup> i.e. sharp practices

<sup>6</sup> bad

<sup>7</sup> presses hard on both parties

<sup>8</sup> Partnerships

<sup>9</sup> Interest on loans

<sup>10</sup> in the sweat of another's brow

<sup>11</sup> weak points

<sup>12</sup> because

<sup>13</sup> financial agents

<sup>14</sup> recommend

<sup>15</sup> a new line of business

<sup>16</sup> relies

<sup>17</sup> with difficulty

<sup>18</sup> risky speculations

<sup>19</sup> make up for

<sup>20</sup> the buying up

Wares for Resale, where they are not restrained<sup>1</sup>, are great  
 90 Meanes to enrich; especially if the Partie have intelligence  
 what Things are like to come into Request, and so store  
 Himselfe before hand. Riches gotten by Service, though  
 it be of the best Rise<sup>2</sup>, yet when they are gotten by  
 Flattery, Feeding Humours<sup>3</sup>, and other Servile Conditions,  
 95 they may be placed amongst the Worst<sup>4</sup>. As for Fishing  
 for Testaments and Executorships (as Tacitus saith of  
 Seneca, *Testamenta et Orbos tanquàm Indagine capi*\*) It  
 is yet worse, By how much<sup>5</sup> Men submit themselves to  
 Meaner Persons then in Service. Beleeve not much them  
 100 that seeme to despise Riches; For they despise them that  
 despaire of them; And none Worse<sup>7</sup>, when they come to  
 them. Be not Penny wise; Riches have Wings, and some-  
 times they Fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be  
 set Flying to bring in more. Men leave their Riches either  
 105 to their Kindred, Or to the Publique; And moderate Por-  
 tions prosper best in both. A great State<sup>8</sup> left to an Heire  
 is as a Lure to all the Birds of Prey round about to seize  
 on him, if he be not the better stablished in Yeares and  
 Iudgement<sup>9</sup>. Likewise Glorious<sup>10</sup> Gifts and Foundations<sup>11</sup>  
 110 are like *Sacrifices without Salt*, And but the *Painted Sepul-  
 chres of Almes*, which soone will putrifie and corrupt inwardly.  
 Therefore, Measure not thine Advancements<sup>12</sup> by Quantity,  
 but Frame them by Measure<sup>13</sup>; and Deferre not Charities  
 till Death: For certainly, if a Man weigh it rightly, he that  
 115 doth so is rather Liberall of an Other Man's then of his  
 Owne.

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<sup>1</sup> forbidden by law

<sup>2</sup> though these riches come from  
 the highest source

<sup>3</sup> indulging the caprices of pa-  
 trons

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* amongst those forms of  
 riches acquired in the worst way

<sup>5</sup> Wills and childless persons  
 were caught, so to speak, in his  
 net

<sup>6</sup> in proportion as

---

<sup>7</sup> *i.e.* none use riches worse

<sup>8</sup> fortune.

<sup>9</sup> unless he is fortified by age  
 and discretion in proportion to the  
 amount of his wealth

<sup>10</sup> ostentatious

<sup>11</sup> endowments

<sup>12</sup> gifts

<sup>13</sup> make them proportionate to  
 the object

## XXXV

## OF PROPHECIES

I MEANE not to speake of Divine Prophecies, Nor of Heathen Oracles, Nor of Naturall Predictions<sup>1</sup>; But only of Prophecies that have beene of certaine Memory<sup>2</sup>, and from Hidden Causes. Saith the Pythonissa<sup>3</sup> to Saul; *To Morrow thou and thy sonne shall be with me.* Homer hath 5 these Verses:— *in later?*

*At Domus Aeneæ cunctis dominabitur Oris,  
Et Nati Natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis<sup>4</sup>:*

A Prophecie, as it seemes, of the Roman Empire. Seneca the Tragedian hath these Verses:

10

——— *Venient Annis  
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus  
Vincula Rerum laxet, et ingens  
Pateat Tellus, Typhisque novos  
Detegat Orbes; nec sit Terris  
Ultima Thule<sup>5</sup>:*

15

A Prophecie of the Discovery of America. The Daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Iupiter bathed her Father, and Apollo annointed him: And it came to passe that he was crucified in an Open Place, where the Sunne made his 20 Bodie runne with Sweat, and the Raine washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed, He sealed up his Wive's Belly; Whereby he did expound it that his Wite should be barren: But Aristander the Soothsayer told him his Wife was with Childe, because Men doe not use to<sup>6</sup> Seale Vessells that 25 are emptie. A Phantasme that appeared to M. Brutus in

<sup>1</sup> forecasts based on a knowledge of the laws of nature

<sup>2</sup> for which there is historical evidence

<sup>3</sup> Witch of Endor

<sup>4</sup> The house of Aeneas shall set up a throne over all nations, they, and their children's children, and

those that shall spring from them.

<sup>5</sup> In later ages the times shall come when Ocean shall relax the bounds of the world, and a vast continent shall appear, and Tiphys shall disclose new worlds, and Thule be no longer earth's limit.

<sup>6</sup> do not generally



his Tent said to him; *Philippis iterum me videbis*<sup>1</sup>. Tib-  
 1 rorius said to Galba; *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis Imperium*<sup>2</sup>.  
 In Vespasian's Time, there went a Prophecie in the East,  
 30 That those that should come forth of Iudea should reigne  
 over the World: which, though it may be was meant of  
 our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domi-  
 tian dreamed, the Night before he was slaine, that a Golden  
 Head was growing out of the Nape of his Necke: And  
 35 indeed, the Succession that followed him, for many yeares,  
 made Golden Times. Henry the Sixt of England said  
 of Henry the Seventh, when he was a Lad, and gave him  
 Water; *This is the Lad that shall enjoy the Crowne for*  
*which we strive*. When I was in France, I heard from one  
 40 Dr. Pena that the Q. Mother, who was given to Curious  
 Arts<sup>3</sup>, caused the King her Husband's Nativitie to be  
 Calculated, under a false Name; And the Astrologer gave  
 a Iudgement, that he should be killed in a Duell; At  
 which the Queene laughed, thinking her Husband to be  
 45 above Challenges and Duels: but he was slaine upon a  
 Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staffe of Montgomery  
 going in at his Bever. The trivial<sup>4</sup> Prophecie which I  
 heard, when I was a Childe, and Queene Elizabeth was in  
 the Flower of her Yeares, was,—

50 *When Hempe is sponne,  
 England's done.*

Whereby it was generally conceived that after the Princes  
 had Reigned, which had the Principiall Letters<sup>5</sup> of that  
 Word *Hempe*, (which were *Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip,*  
 55 and *Elizabeth*) England should come to utter Confusion:  
 Which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the Change  
 of the Name; For that the King's Stile<sup>6</sup> is now no more  
 of *England*, but of *Britaine*. There was also another  
 Prophecie, before the year of '88, which I doe not well  
 60 understand:

<sup>1</sup> Thou shalt see me again at  
 Philippi.

<sup>2</sup> Thou, too, Galba, shalt have  
 a taste of empire.

<sup>3</sup> magic

<sup>4</sup> common

<sup>5</sup> initials

<sup>6</sup> title

*There shall be seene upon a day,  
Betweene the Baugh and the May,  
The Blacke Fleet of Norway.  
When that that is come and gone,  
England build Houses of Lime and Stone, 65  
For after Warres shall you have None.*

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish Fleet, that came in '88: For that the King of Spaine's Surname, as they say, is *Norway*. The Prediction of Regiomontanus,— 70

*Octogessimus octavus mirabilis Annus<sup>1</sup>,*

Was thought likewise accomplished, in the Sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, though not in Number, of all that ever swamme upon the Sea. As for Cleon's Dreame, I thinke it was a Iest. It was, that he 75 was devoured of<sup>a</sup> a long Dragon; And it was expounded of a Maker of Sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are Numbers of the like kinde; Especially if you include Dreames, and Predictions of Astrologie. But I have set downe these few onely of certaine Credit, for 80 Example. My Iudgement is, that they ought all to be Despised, And ought to serve but for Winter Talke by the Fire side: Though when I say Despised, I meane it as for Beleeve; For otherwise, the Spreading or Publishing of them is in no sort<sup>a</sup> to be Despised. For they have done 85 much Mischiefe: And I see many severe Lawes made to suppress them. That, that hath given them Grace<sup>4</sup> and some Credit, consisteth in three Things. First, that Men marke when they hit, and never marke when they misse: As they doe, generally, also of Dreames. The second is, 90 that Probable Coniectures or obscure Traditions many times turne themselves into Prophecies; While the Nature of Man, which coveteth Divination, thinkes it no Perill to foretell that which indeed they doe but collect<sup>5</sup>. As that of Seneca's Verse; For so much was then subject to 95 Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth had great Parts

<sup>1</sup> '88, a. d. 1588

<sup>2</sup> by

by no means  
layour

<sup>6</sup> infer

beyond the Atlanticke, which mought<sup>1</sup> be Probably conceived not to be all Sea : And adding thereto the Tradition in Plato's *Timeus*, and his *Atlanticus*, it mought encourage  
 100 One to turne it to a Prediction. The third and Last (which is the Great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, have beene Impostures, and by idle and craftie Braines meerely contrived<sup>2</sup> and faigned, after the Event Past.

## XXXVI

## OF AMBITION

AMBITION is like Choler, Which is an Humour that maketh Men Active, Earnest, Full of Alacritie, and Stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped and cannot have his<sup>3</sup> Way, it becommeth Adust<sup>4</sup>, and thereby Maligne and  
 5 Venomous. So Ambitious Men, if they finde the way Open for their Rising and still<sup>5</sup> get forward, they are rather Busie then Dangerous ; But if they be check't in their desires, they become secretly discontent<sup>6</sup>, and looke upon Men and matters with an Evill Eye, And are best pleased  
 10 when Things goe backward ; Which is the worst Propertie<sup>7</sup> in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they use Ambitious Men, to handle it so as they be still Progressive, and not Retrograde<sup>8</sup> : Which, because it cannot be without Inconvenience, it is good not to use  
 15 such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Service, they will take Order<sup>9</sup> to make their Service fall with them. But since we have said it were good not to use Men of Ambitious Natures, except it be upon necessitie, it is fit we speake<sup>10</sup> in what Cases they are of necessitie. Good Com-  
 20 manders in the Warres must be taken, be they never so

<sup>1</sup> might<sup>2</sup> wholly invented<sup>3</sup> its<sup>4</sup> parched<sup>5</sup> continually<sup>6</sup> discontented<sup>7</sup> quality<sup>8</sup> to contrive that they are constantly promoted and not put back<sup>9</sup> take measures<sup>10</sup> mention

Ambitious; For the Use of their Service dispenseth with<sup>1</sup> the rest; And to take a Soldier without Ambition, is to pull off his Spurs. There is also great use of Ambitious Men in being Skreenes to Princes, in Matters of Danger and Envie: For no Man will take that Part, except he be<sup>25</sup> like a Seel'd Dove<sup>2</sup>, that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. There is Use also of Ambitious Men, in Pulling downe the Greatnesse of any Subiect that over-tops: As Tiberius used Macro in the Pulling down of Seianus. Since therefore they must be used in such<sup>30</sup> Cases, there resteth to speake<sup>3</sup> how they are to be bridleed that they may be lesse dangerous. There is lesse danger of<sup>4</sup> them, if they be of Meane Birth then if they be Noble; And if they be rather Harsh of Nature then Gracious and Popular; And if they be rather New<sup>5</sup> Raised then growne<sup>35</sup> Cunning<sup>6</sup> and Fortified in their Greatnesse. It is counted by some a weaknesse in Princes to have Favorites: But it is, of all others, the best Remedy<sup>7</sup> against Ambitious Great-Ones: For when the Way of Pleasuring and Displeasuring<sup>8</sup> lieth by the Favourite, it is Impossible Any Other should be<sup>40</sup> Over-great. Another meanes to curbe them is to Ballance them by others as Proud as they. But then, there must be some Middle Counsellours, to keep Things steady; For without that Ballast, the Ship will roule too much. At the least, a Prince may animate and inure<sup>9</sup> some Meaner<sup>45</sup> Persons to be, as it were, Scourges to Ambitious Men. As for the having of them Obnoxious<sup>10</sup> to Ruine, if they be of fearefull<sup>11</sup> Natures, it may doe well: But if they bee Stout<sup>12</sup> and Daring, it may precipitate their Designes, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them downe, if the<sup>50</sup> Affaires require it, and that<sup>13</sup> it may not be done with safety suddainly, the onely Way is the Enterchange continually of Favours and Disgraces<sup>14</sup>; whereby they may not know

<sup>1</sup> excuses<sup>2</sup> a dove with its eyelids sewn

up

<sup>3</sup> it remains to say<sup>4</sup> from<sup>5</sup> recently<sup>6</sup> skilful<sup>7</sup> a better remedy than any

other

<sup>8</sup> obliging and disobliging<sup>9</sup> make use of<sup>10</sup> liable<sup>11</sup> timid<sup>12</sup> bold<sup>13</sup> if<sup>14</sup> repulses

what to expect, And be, as it were, in a Wood<sup>1</sup>. Of Ambitions, it is lesse harmefull, the Ambition<sup>2</sup> to prevaile in great Things, then that other, to appeare in every thing; For that breeds Confusion and marres Businesse. But yet, it is lesse danger to have an Ambitious Man stirring in Businesse then Great in Dependances<sup>3</sup>. He that seeketh to be Eminent amongst Able Men hath a great Taske; but that is ever good for the Publique. But he that plots to be the onely Figure amongst Ciphars, is the decay<sup>4</sup> of an whole Age. Honour hath three Things in it: The Vantage Ground to doe good; The Approach to Kings and principall Persons; And the Raising of a Man's owne Fortunes. He that hath the best of these Intentions, when he aspireth, is an Honest Man: And that Prince, that can discerne of these Intentions in Another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States choose such Ministers as are more sensible of Duty then of Rising<sup>5</sup>; And such as love Businesse rather upon Conscience then upon Bravery<sup>6</sup>: And let them Discerne a Busie Nature<sup>7</sup> from a Willing Minde.

## XXXVII

OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS<sup>8</sup>

THESE Things are but Toyes<sup>9</sup> to come amongst such Serious Observations. But yet, since Princes will have such Things, it is better they should be Graced with Elegancy then Daubed with Cost<sup>10</sup>. Dancing to Song is a Thing of great State and Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Quire<sup>11</sup>, placed aloft, and accompanied

<sup>1</sup> in a maze<sup>2</sup> the ambition is less harmful<sup>3</sup> followers<sup>4</sup> ruin<sup>5</sup> as are actuated by a sense of duty rather than by ambition<sup>6</sup> from motives of duty rather than for ostentation<sup>7</sup> distinguish a meddlesome nature<sup>8</sup> Processional Pageants<sup>9</sup> trifles<sup>10</sup> elegantly mounted rather than decorated at extravagant outlay<sup>11</sup> in choir

with some broken Musicke<sup>1</sup>; And the Ditty fitted to the Device<sup>2</sup>. Acting in Song, especially in Dialogues, hath an extreme Good Grace<sup>3</sup>: I say Acting, not Dancing, (For that is a Meane and Vulgar Thing;) And the Voices of the 10 Dialogue would<sup>4</sup> be Strong and Manly, (A Base, and a Tenour; No Treble;) And the Ditty High and Tragically, Not nice or Dainty<sup>5</sup>. Severall Quires, placed one over against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, Anthems wise<sup>6</sup>, give great Pleasure. Turning Dances into Figure 15 is a childish Curiosity<sup>7</sup>. And generally, let it be noted that those Things, which I here set downe, are such as doe naturally take the Sense, and not respect Petty Wonderments<sup>8</sup>. It is true, the Alterations of Scenes, so<sup>9</sup> it be quietly and without Noise, are Things of great Beauty 20 and Pleasure; For they feed and relieve the Eye, before it be full of the same Object. Let the Scenes abound with Light, specially Coloured and Varied: And let the Masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the Scene, have some Motions upon the Scene it selfe, before 25 their Comming down: For it drawes the Eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the Songs be Loud and Cheerefull, and not Chirpings or Pulings<sup>10</sup>. Let the Musicke likewise be Sharpe and Loud and Well Placed. The Colours that 30 shew best by Candlelight are White, Carnation, and a Kinde of Sea-Water-Greene; And Oes, or Spangs<sup>11</sup>, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory<sup>12</sup>. As for Rich Embroidery, it is lost and not Discerned. Let the Sutes of the Masquers be Gracefull, and such as become 35 the Person when the Vizars<sup>13</sup> are off: Not after Examples of Knowne Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the

<sup>1</sup> a string-band

<sup>2</sup> the words in keeping with the pageant

<sup>3</sup> has a very graceful effect

<sup>4</sup> should

<sup>5</sup> not affected or finnikin

<sup>6</sup> taking up the strain alternately as in an anthem

<sup>7</sup> The arrangement of elaborate dances is a childish piece of in-

genuity

<sup>8</sup> are such as please people's tastes and do not aim at startling them with paltry surprises

<sup>9</sup> provided that

<sup>10</sup> whinings

<sup>11</sup> And circlets or spangles

<sup>12</sup> most brilliant

<sup>13</sup> masks

like. Let Antimasques not be long ; They have been commonly of Fooles, Satyres, Baboones, Wilde-Men, Antiques<sup>1</sup>,  
 40 Beasts, Sprites, Witches, Ethiopes<sup>2</sup>, Pigmies, Turquets<sup>3</sup>,  
 Nymphs, Rusticks, Cupids, Statuas<sup>4</sup> Moving, and the like. As for Angels, it is not Comickall enough to put them in Anti-Masques ; And any Thing that is hideous, as Devils, Giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly, let the  
 45 Musicke of them be Recreative, and with some strange Changes. Some Sweet Odours, suddenly comming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a Company as<sup>5</sup> there is Steame and Heate, Things of great Pleasure, and Refreshment. Double Masques, one of Men, another of Ladies,  
 50 addeth State and Variety. But All is Nothing, except the Roome be kept Cleare and Neat.

For Iusts and Tourneys and Barriers ; The Glories<sup>6</sup> of them are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their Entry ; Especially if they be drawne with Strange  
 55 Beasts ; As Lions, Beares, Cammels, and the like : Or in the Devices of their Entrance ; Or in the Bravery<sup>7</sup> of their Liveries ; Or in the Goodly Furniture<sup>8</sup> of their Horses, and Armour. But enough of these Toyes<sup>9</sup>.

## XXXVIII

## OF NATURE IN MEN

NATURE is Often Hidden, Sometimes Overcome, Seldome Extinguished. Force maketh Nature more violent in the Returne<sup>10</sup> ; Doctrine and Discourse<sup>11</sup> maketh Nature lesse Importune<sup>12</sup> ; But Custome onely doth alter and  
 5 subdue Nature. Hee that seeketh Victory over his Nature, let him not set Himselfe too great nor too small Tasks :

<sup>1</sup> buffoons<sup>2</sup> black men<sup>3</sup> little Turks<sup>4</sup> statues<sup>5</sup> in a company where<sup>6</sup> splendour<sup>7</sup> showiness<sup>8</sup> handsome equipment<sup>9</sup> trifles<sup>10</sup> in the reaction<sup>11</sup> teaching and preaching<sup>12</sup> importunate

For the first will make him dejected by often Faylings<sup>1</sup>; And the Second will make him a small Proceeder, though by often Prevailings<sup>2</sup>. And at the first, let him practise with Helps, as Swimmers doe with Bladders or Rushes: 10 But after a Time, let him practise with disadvantages, as Dancers doe with thick Shooes. For it breeds great Perfection, if the Practise be harder then the use. Where Nature is Mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be, First, to Stay and Arrest Nature in 15 Time<sup>3</sup>; Like to Him that would say over the Foure and Twenty Letters when he was Angry: Then, to Goe lesse in Quantity; As if one should, in forbearing Wine<sup>4</sup>, come from Drinking Healths<sup>5</sup> to a Draught at a Meale: And lastly, to Discontinue altogether. But if a Man have the 20 Fortitude and Resolution to enfranchise Himselfe at once, that is the best;

*Optimus ille Animi Vindex lædencia pectus  
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel<sup>6</sup>.*

Neither is the Ancient Rule amisse, to bend Nature as a 25 Wand to a Contrary Extreme, whereby to set it right; Understanding it, where<sup>7</sup> the Contrary Extreme is no Vice. Let not a man force a Habit upon himselfe with a Perpetuall Continuance, but with some Intermission. For both the Pause reinforceth the new Onset; And if a Man 30 that is not perfect be ever in Practise<sup>8</sup>, he shall as well practise his Errours as his Abilities, And induce one Habite of both: And there is no Meanes to helpe this, but by Seasonable Intermissions. But let not a Man trust his Victorie over his Nature too farre; For Nature will lay<sup>9</sup> 35 buried a great Time, and yet revive upon the Occasion or Temptation. Like as it was with Æsope's Damosell, turned from a Catt to a Woman; who sate very demurely at the Board's End<sup>10</sup> till a Mouse ranne before her. Therefore

<sup>1</sup> frequent failures

<sup>2</sup> in spite of frequent successes

<sup>3</sup> in respect of time

<sup>4</sup> in endeavouring to abstain  
from wine

<sup>5</sup> from large potations

<sup>6</sup> He is the best liberator of the

mind who bursts once for all the  
feters that gall his breast and  
thereby puts an end to his grief.

<sup>7</sup> assuming that

<sup>8</sup> always practising

<sup>9</sup> lie

<sup>10</sup> the end of the table



... would the Occasion altogether, Or put  
 it off, that hee may be little moved with  
 the Nature is best perceived in Privatenesse<sup>2</sup>,  
 without any Affectation; In Passion, for that putteth a  
 new Precepts; And in a new Case or Experi-  
 ence, for that Custom leaveth him. They are happie  
 whose Natures sort<sup>4</sup> with their Vocations; Otherwise  
 as *Mutuum Incola fuit Anima mea*<sup>5</sup>, when they  
 are in those Things they do not Affect<sup>7</sup>. In Studies,  
 when a Man commandeth upon himself<sup>8</sup>, let him set  
 his own Time to it: But whatsoever is agreeable to his Nature,  
 he need take no Care for any set Times: For his Thoughts  
 will come to it of Themselves, So as the Spaces of<sup>9</sup> other  
 Studies of Studies will suffice. A Man's Nature runnes  
 like to Herbes or Weeds; Therefore let him seasonably  
 Water the One, and Destroy the Other.

### XXXIX

#### OF CUSTOME AND EDUCATION

MEN'S Thoughts are much according to their Inclina-  
 tion<sup>10</sup>; Their Discourse and Speeches according to their  
 Learning and Infused<sup>11</sup> Opinions; But their Deeds are  
 after<sup>12</sup> as they have beene Accustomed. And therefore,  
 as Macciavel well noteth (though in an evill favoured In-  
 stance<sup>13</sup>) There is no Trusting to the Force of Nature, nor  
 to the Bravery<sup>14</sup> of Words, Except it be Corroborate by  
 Custom<sup>15</sup>. His Instance is, that for the Atchieving of a  
 desperate Conspiracie a Man should not rest<sup>16</sup> upon the

<sup>1</sup> or accustom himself

<sup>2</sup> not much affected by it

<sup>3</sup> in private life

<sup>4</sup> agree

<sup>5</sup> My soul hath long been a  
 sojourner

<sup>6</sup> pass their lives

<sup>7</sup> care for

<sup>8</sup> forces himself to do

<sup>9</sup> so that the intervals of leisure  
 between

<sup>10</sup> natural disposition

<sup>11</sup> acquired

<sup>12</sup> according

<sup>13</sup> an ugly instance

<sup>14</sup> boastfulness

<sup>15</sup> strengthened by habit

<sup>16</sup> rely

Fiercenesse of any man's Nature or his Resolute Under-  
 takings<sup>1</sup>; But take such an one as hath had his Hands  
 formerly in Bloud. But Macciavel knew not of a Friar  
 Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Iaureguy, nor a Baltazar  
 Gerard: yet his Rule holdeth still<sup>2</sup>, that Nature nor the  
 Engagement of Words are not<sup>3</sup> so forcible as Custome. 15  
 Onely Superstition is now so well advanced, that Men of  
 the first Bloud<sup>4</sup> are as Firme as Butchers by Occupation;  
 And votary Resolution is made Equipollent to Custome<sup>5</sup>,  
 even in matter of Bloud. In other Things, the Predo-  
 minancy of Custome is every where Visible; In so much 20  
 as<sup>6</sup> a Man would wonder to heare Men Professe, Protest,  
 Engage, Give Great Words<sup>7</sup>, and then Doe iust as they  
 have Done before: [As if they were Dead Images, and  
 Engines<sup>8</sup> moved onely by the wheeles of Custome.] We  
 see also the Raigne or Tyrannie of Custome, what it is. 25  
 The Indians (I meane the Sect of their Wise Men) lay  
 Themselves quietly upon a Stacke of Wood, and so Sacrifice  
 themselves by Fire: Nay, the Wives strive to be burned  
 with the Corpses of their Husbands. The Lads of Sparta,  
 of Ancient Time, were wont to be Scourged upon the Altar 30  
 of Diana, without so much as Queching<sup>9</sup>. I remember in  
 the beginning of Queene Elizabeth's time of England, an  
 Irish Rebell, Condemned, put up a Petition to the Deputie,  
 that he might be hanged in a With<sup>10</sup> and not in an Halter,  
 because it had beene so used<sup>11</sup> with former Rebels. There 35  
 be Monkes in Russia, for Penance, that will sit a whole  
 Night in a Vessell of Water, till they be Engaged<sup>12</sup> with  
 hard Ice. Many Examples may be put<sup>13</sup>, of the Force of  
 Custome, both upon Minde and Body. Therefore, since  
 Custome is the Principall Magistrate of Man's life, Let 40  
 Men by all Meanes endeavour to obtaine good Customes.

<sup>1</sup> promises  
<sup>2</sup> always holds good  
<sup>3</sup> that neither nature nor the  
 engagement of words is  
<sup>4</sup> assassins who are committing  
 their first murder  
<sup>5</sup> the determination of men who  
 are bound by a vow is as powerful  
 as habit

<sup>6</sup> that  
<sup>7</sup> take oaths  
<sup>8</sup> machines  
<sup>9</sup> flinching  
<sup>10</sup> with twisted osier twigs  
<sup>11</sup> such had been the custom  
<sup>12</sup> fast bound  
<sup>13</sup> supplied

Certainly, Custome is most perfect when it beginneth in Young Yeares: This we call Education; which is, in effect, but an Early Custome. So we see, in Languages the  
 45 Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Joints are more Supple to all Feats of Activitie and Motions in Youth then afterwards. For it is true that late Learners cannot so well take the Plie<sup>1</sup>; Except it be in some Mindes that have not suffered themselves to fixe, but have kept  
 50 themselves open and prepared to receive continuall Amendment, which is exceeding Rare. But if the Force of Custome Simple and Separate<sup>2</sup> be Great, the Force of Custome Copulate and Conioyned and Collegiate<sup>3</sup> is far Greater. For there Example teacheth, Company com-  
 55 forteth<sup>4</sup>, Emulation quickeneth, Glory raiseth; So as in such Places the Force of Custome is in his Exaltation<sup>5</sup>. Certainly, the great Multiplication of Vertues upon Humane Nature resteth<sup>6</sup> upon Societies well Ordained and Disciplined. For Commonwealths and Good Governments doe  
 60 nourish Vertue Growne, but doe not much mend the Seeds. But the Misery is, that the most Effectuall Meanes are now applied to the Ends least to be desired.

## XL

## OF FORTUNE

It cannot be denied but<sup>7</sup> Outward Accidents conduce much to Fortune; Favour, Opportunitie, Death of Others, Occasion fitting Vertue<sup>8</sup>. But chiefly the Mould of a Man's Fortune is in his owne hands. *Faber quisque For-*  
 5 *tunæ suæ*<sup>9</sup>, saith the Poet. And the most Frequent of Externall Causes is that the Folly of one Man is the Fortune of Another. For no Man prospers so suddenly

<sup>1</sup> are not so pliant<sup>2</sup> of custom in the case of individuals<sup>3</sup> of custom united, conjoined, and affecting a whole society<sup>4</sup> strengthens<sup>5</sup> at its height<sup>6</sup> depends<sup>7</sup> that<sup>8</sup> occasion suitable for bringing out a man's good qualities<sup>9</sup> Every man is the architect of his own fortune

as by Others' Errours. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco*<sup>1</sup>. Overt and Apparent<sup>2</sup> vertues bring forth Praise; But there be Secret and Hidden Vertues that bring 10  
Forth Fortune; Certaine Deliveries of a Man's Selfe<sup>3</sup>, which have no Name. The Spanish Name, *Desemboltura*<sup>4</sup>, partly expresseth them: When there be not Stonds<sup>5</sup> nor Restiveness<sup>6</sup> in a Man's Nature, But that<sup>7</sup> the wheeles of his Minde keepe way<sup>8</sup> with the wheeles of his Fortune. 15  
For so Livie (after he had described Cato Maior in these words; *In illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis et Animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, Fortunam sibi facturum videretur*<sup>9</sup>;) falleth upon that<sup>10</sup>, that he had *Versatile Ingenium*<sup>11</sup>. Therefore, if a Man looke Sharply and Attentively, he shall 20  
see Fortune: For though shee be Blinde, yet shee is not Invisible. The Way of Fortune is like the Milken<sup>12</sup> Way in the Skie; Which is a Meeting or Knot of a Number of Small Stars, Not Seene asunder, but Giving Light together. So are there a Number of Little and scarce discerned 25  
Vertues, or rather Faculties and Customes<sup>13</sup>, that make Men Fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a Man would little thinke. When they speake of one that cannot doe amisse, they will throw in, into his other Conditions, that he hath *Poco di Matto*<sup>14</sup>. And certainly, there 30  
be not two more Fortunate Properties<sup>15</sup> then to have a Little of the Foole, And not Too Much of the Honest. Therefore, Extreme Lovers of their Countrey or Masters were never Fortunate, neither can they be. For when a Man placeth his Thoughts without<sup>16</sup> Himselfe, he goeth not 35  
his owne Way. An hastie Fortune maketh an Enterpriser

<sup>1</sup> A serpent does not become a dragon unless it has first swallowed a serpent.

<sup>2</sup> conspicuous

<sup>3</sup> certain ways of showing one's qualities

<sup>4</sup> grace of movement, versatility

<sup>5</sup> hindrances

<sup>6</sup> obstinacy

<sup>7</sup> but when

<sup>8</sup> keep pace

<sup>9</sup> Such was the mental and bodily

vigour of this illustrious man that the lowliest birth would scarcely have debarred him from mounting to the highest place.

<sup>10</sup> remarks

<sup>11</sup> a versatile nature

<sup>12</sup> Milky

<sup>13</sup> qualities and habits

<sup>14</sup> a little of the fool

<sup>15</sup> qualities

<sup>16</sup> outside

and Remover<sup>1</sup>, (The French hath it better,—*Entrepreneur* or *Remuant*<sup>2</sup>.) But the Exercised Fortune<sup>3</sup> maketh the Able Man. Fortune is to be Honoured and Respected, and it  
 40 bee but for<sup>4</sup> her Daughters, Confidence and Reputation. For those two Felicitie<sup>5</sup> breedeth; The first within a Man's Selfe, the Latter, in Others towards Him. All Wise Men, to decline the Envy of their owne vertues<sup>6</sup>, use to<sup>7</sup> ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; For so they may the  
 45 better assume them: And besides, it is Greatnesse in a Man to be the Care of the Higher Powers. So Cæsar said to the Pilot in the Tempest, *Cæsarem portas, et Fortunam eius*<sup>8</sup>. So Sylla chose the Name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*<sup>9</sup>. And it hath beene noted, that those that ascribe  
 50 openly too much to their owne Wisdome and Policie, end Infortunate<sup>10</sup>. It is written that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the Account he gave to the State, of his Government, often interlaced this Speech<sup>11</sup>, *And in this Fortune had no Part*, never prospered in any Thing he  
 55 undertooke afterwards. Certainly, there be whose Fortunes are like Homer's Verses, that have a Slide<sup>12</sup> and Easinesse more then the Verses of other Poets: As Plutarch saith of Timoleon's Fortune, in respect of<sup>13</sup> that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas. And that this should be, no doubt it is  
 60 much in a Man's Selfe<sup>14</sup>.

## XLI

OF USURIE<sup>15</sup>

MANY have made Wittie<sup>16</sup> Invectives against Usurie<sup>15</sup>. They say that it is Pitie<sup>17</sup> the Devill should have God's

<sup>1</sup> adventurer and unsettled man

<sup>2</sup> speculative or restless

<sup>3</sup> fortune won by endurance

<sup>4</sup> if only on account of

<sup>5</sup> good fortune

<sup>6</sup> to avoid the unpopularity resulting from their own good qualities

<sup>7</sup> are wont to

<sup>8</sup> You are carrying in your boat Caesar and his fortunes.

<sup>9</sup> of 'Fortunate' and not of 'Great'

<sup>10</sup> unfortunate

<sup>11</sup> introduced this remark

<sup>12</sup> smoothness

<sup>13</sup> as compared with

<sup>14</sup> doubtless depends largely on the man himself

<sup>15</sup> Interest

<sup>16</sup> ingenious

<sup>17</sup> a pity

part, which is the Tithe; That the Usurer<sup>1</sup> is the greatest Sabbath Breaker, because his Plough goeth every Sunday; That the Usurer is the Droane that Virgil speaketh of:— 5

*Ignavum Fucos Pecus à præsepibus arcent<sup>2</sup>;*

That the Usurer breaketh the First Law that was made for Mankinde after the Fall, which was, *In sudore Vultûs tui comedes Panem tuum<sup>3</sup>*; Not, *In sudore Vultûs alieni<sup>4</sup>*; That Usurers should have Orange-tawney Bonnets, because they 10 doe Judaize<sup>5</sup>; That it is against Nature for Money to beget Money; And the like. I say this onely, that Usury is a *Concessum propter Duritiem Cordis<sup>6</sup>*: For since there must be Borrowing and Lending, and Men are so hard of Heart as<sup>7</sup> they will not lend freely, Usury must be permitted. 15 Some Others have made Suspicious and Cunning Propositions<sup>8</sup> of Bankes, Discovery of Men's Estates<sup>9</sup>, and other Inventions; But few have spoken of Usury usefully. It is good to set before us the Incommodities and Commodities<sup>10</sup> of Usury, That the Good may be either Weighed out 20 or Culled out<sup>11</sup>; And warily to provide that, while we make forth to that which is better<sup>12</sup>, we meet not with that which is worse.

The Discommodities of Usury are,—First, that it makes fewer Merchants: For were it not for this Lazie Trade of 25 Usury, Money would not lie still, but would, in great Part, be Employed upon Merchandizing<sup>13</sup>, Which is the *Vena Porta* of Wealth in a State. The Second, that it makes Poore Merchants. For as a Farmer cannot husband<sup>14</sup> his Ground so well, if he sit<sup>15</sup> at a great Rent, So the Merchant 30

<sup>1</sup> money-lender

<sup>2</sup> The lazy swarm of drones they drive from their hives.

<sup>3</sup> In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread

<sup>4</sup> In the sweat of another man's brow

<sup>5</sup> act like Jews

<sup>6</sup> a concession by reason of hardness of heart

<sup>7</sup> that

<sup>8</sup> have made suggestions, ingenious but to be regarded with

suspicion

<sup>9</sup> investigation of the amount and sources of men's incomes

<sup>10</sup> disadvantages and advantages

<sup>11</sup> that the good may be either accurately measured against the evil, or separated from it

<sup>12</sup> while we are advancing towards improvement (sc. by regulating interest)

<sup>13</sup> trading

<sup>14</sup> cultivate

<sup>15</sup> holds his farm

cannot drive his Trade so well, if he sit at great Usury<sup>1</sup>. The Third is incident to the other two, And that is, the Decay of Customes<sup>2</sup> of Kings or States, which Ebbe or flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, that it bringeth  
 35 the Treasure of a Realme or State into a few Hands. For the Usurer being at Certainties, and others at Uncertainties, at the end of the Game, Most of the Money will be in the Boxe<sup>3</sup>; And ever a State flourisheth when Wealth is more equally spread. The Fifth, that it beats downe the Price  
 40 of Land: For the Employment of Money is chiefly either Merchandizing or Purchasing<sup>4</sup>; And Usury Waylayes<sup>5</sup> both. The Sixth, that it doth Dull and Dampne all Industries, Improvements, and new Inventions, wherin Money would be Stirring, if it were not for this Slugge<sup>6</sup>. The  
 45 Last, that it is the Canker and Ruine of many Men's Estates, Which in processe of Time breeds a Publike Povertie.

On the other side, the Commodities of Usury are,— First, that howsoever<sup>7</sup> Usury in some respect hindereth  
 50 Merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it: For it is certain that the Greatest Part of Trade is driven by Young Merchants upon Borrowing at Interest; So as<sup>8</sup>, if the Usurer either call in or keepe backe his Money, there will ensue presently<sup>9</sup> a great Stand<sup>10</sup> of Trade. The Second is,  
 55 That were it not for this easie borrowing upon Interest, Men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing<sup>11</sup>, In that they would be forced to sell their Meanes (be it Lands or Goods) farre under Foot<sup>12</sup>; and so, whereas Usury doth but Gnaw upon them, Bad Markets would  
 60 Swallow them quite up. As for Mortgaging or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; For either Men will not take Pawnes without Use<sup>13</sup>, Or if they doe, they will looke precisely

<sup>1</sup> is subject to a high rate of interest

<sup>2</sup> revenues raised from duties and taxes

<sup>3</sup> i.e. in the money-lender's box

<sup>4</sup> either trading or buying landed properties

<sup>5</sup> interferes with

<sup>6</sup> hindrance

<sup>7</sup> although

<sup>8</sup> so that

<sup>9</sup> immediately

<sup>10</sup> stoppage

<sup>11</sup> ruin

<sup>12</sup> far below their real value

<sup>13</sup> will not receive securities in pledge (i.e. lend money on mortgage) without charging interest

for the Forfeiture<sup>1</sup>. I remember a Cruell Moneyed Man in the Country, that would say<sup>2</sup>, The Devill take this Usury, it keepest us from Forfeitures of Mortgages and 65 Bonds. The third and Last is, That it is a Vanitie to conceive that there would be Ordinary Borrowing without Profit; And it is impossible to conceive the Number of Inconveniencies that will ensue, if Borrowing be Cramped. Therefore, to speake of the Abolishing of Usury is Idle. 70 All States have ever had it, in one Kinde or Rate or other: So as<sup>3</sup> that Opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speake now, of the Reformation and Reiglement<sup>4</sup> of Usury, How the Discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the Commodities retained. It appeares by the Ballance 75 of Commodities and Discommodities of Usury, Two Things are to be Reconciled: The one, that the Tooth of Usurie be grinded<sup>5</sup>, that it bite not too much; The other, that there bee left open a Meanes to invite Moneyed Men to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning 80 of<sup>6</sup> Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two severall<sup>7</sup> Sorts of Usury, A Lesse, and a Greater. For if you reduce Usury to one Low Rate, it will ease the common Borrower, but the Merchant will be to seeke<sup>8</sup> for Money. And it is to be noted that the Trade of Merchandize, being 85 the most Lucrative, may beare Usury at a good Rate; Other Contracts not so.

To serve both Intentions<sup>9</sup>, the way would be briefly thus. That there be Two Rates of Usury, The one Free and Generall for All; The other under Licence only, to 90 Certaine Persons, and in Certaine Places of Merchandizing. First therefore, let Usury in generall be reduced to Five in the Hundred, And let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Current; And let the State shut itselfe out to take<sup>10</sup> any Penalty for the same. This will preserve Borrowing 95 from any generall Stop or Drinesse<sup>11</sup>. This will ease infinite

<sup>1</sup> will keep a sharp look-out to  
foreclose

<sup>2</sup> used to say

<sup>3</sup> hence

<sup>4</sup> regulation

<sup>5</sup> blunted

<sup>6</sup> infusing life into

<sup>7</sup> distinct

<sup>8</sup> will be at a loss

<sup>9</sup> To secure both objects

<sup>10</sup> let the state abstain from  
taking

<sup>11</sup> difficulty



Borrowers in the Countre. This will in good Part raise the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteene yeares' Purchase wil yeeld Six in the Hundred and some-  
 100 what more, whereas this Rate of Interest Yeelds but Five. This, by like reason, will Encourage and edge<sup>1</sup> Industrious and Profitable Improvements; Because Many will rather venture in that kinde<sup>2</sup> then take Five in the Hundred, especially having beene used to greater Profit. Secondly,  
 105 let there be Certaine Persons licensed to Lend to knowne Merchants, upon Usury at a Higher Rate; and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, even with the Merchant himselfe, somewhat more easie then that he used formerly to pay: For by that Meanes all Borrowers  
 110 shall have some ease by this Reformation, be he Merchant or whosoever. Let it be no Banke or Common Stocke, but every Man be Master of his owne Money: Not that I altogether Mislike<sup>3</sup> Banks, but they will hardly be brooked<sup>4</sup>, in regard of<sup>5</sup> certain suspicions. Let the State be answered  
 115 some small Matter<sup>6</sup> for the Licence, and the rest<sup>7</sup> left to the Lender: For if the Abatement<sup>8</sup> be but small, it will no whit<sup>9</sup> discourage the Lender. For he, for Example, that tooke before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, wil sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred then give over his Trade  
 120 of Usury, And goe from Certaine Gaines to Gaines of Hazard. Let these Licenced Lenders be in Number Indefinite, but restrained<sup>10</sup> to Certaine Principall Cities and Townes of Merchandizing; For then they will be hardly able to Colour other Men's Moneyes<sup>11</sup> in the Country: So  
 125 as<sup>12</sup> the Licence of Nine will not sucke away the current Rate of Five: For no Man will Lend his Moneyes farre off, nor put them into Unknown Hands.

If it be Obiected that this doth, in a Sort<sup>13</sup>, Authorize Usury, which before was in some places but Permissive;

<sup>1</sup> stimulate<sup>2</sup> will rather invest in that way<sup>3</sup> dislike<sup>4</sup> tolerated<sup>5</sup> because of<sup>6</sup> be paid a small fee<sup>7</sup> i.e. the rest of the profit<sup>8</sup> the amount deducted as state

fee

<sup>9</sup> not at all<sup>10</sup> confined<sup>11</sup> to lend other men's money under colour of its being their own<sup>12</sup> so that<sup>13</sup> after a fashion

The Answer is, That it is better to Mitigate Usury by 130  
Declaration<sup>1</sup> then to suffer it to Rage by Connivence.

## XLII

## OF YOUTH AND AGE

A MAN that is Young in yeares may be Old in Houres, if he have lost no Time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first Cogitations, not so Wise as the Second. For there is a youth in thoughts as well as in Ages. And yet the Invention<sup>2</sup> of Young Men is 5 more lively then that of Old; And Imaginations streame into their Mindes better, and, as it were, more Divinely<sup>3</sup>. Natures that have much Heat, and great and violent desires and Perturbations, are not ripe for Action till they have passed the Meridian of their yeares: As it was with Iulius 10 Cæsar and Septimius Severus; Of the latter of whom it is said, *Iuventutem egit Erroribus, imò Furoribus plenam*<sup>4</sup>. And yet he was the Ablest Emperour, almost, of all the List. But Reposed<sup>5</sup> Natures may doe well in Youth; As it is seene in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, 15 Gaston de Foix, and others. On the other side, Heate and Vivacity in Age<sup>6</sup> is an Excellent Composition<sup>7</sup> for Businessse. Young Men are Fitter to Invent then to Iudge; Fitter for Execution then for Counsell; And Fitter for New Projectts then for Setled Businessse. For the Experience of 20 Age<sup>8</sup>, in Things that fall within the compasse of it, directeth them, But in New Things, abuseth<sup>9</sup> them. The Errours of Young Men are the Ruine of Businessse; But the Errours of Aged Men amount but to this, That more might have beene done, or sooner.

Young Men, in the Conduct and Mannage<sup>10</sup> of Actions, 25

<sup>1</sup> by open recognition

<sup>2</sup> the imaginative faculty

<sup>3</sup> by divine inspiration

<sup>4</sup> His youthful years were full, not merely of mistakes, but even of frenzied outbreaks.

<sup>5</sup> calm

<sup>6</sup> in old men

<sup>7</sup> temperament

<sup>8</sup> of old men

<sup>9</sup> misleads

<sup>10</sup> management

Embrace more then they can Hold ; Stirre more then they can Quiet<sup>1</sup> ; Fly to the End without Consideration of the Meanes and Degrees ; Pursue some few Principles, which  
 30 they have chanced upon, absurdly ; Care not to Innovate<sup>2</sup>, which draws unknowne Inconveniencies ; Use extreme Remedies at first ; And, that which doubleth all Errours, will not acknowledge or retract them, Like an unready Horse<sup>3</sup>, that will neither Stop nor Turne. Men of Age  
 35 Obiect too much, Consult too long, Adventure too little, Repent too soone, and seldome drive Businesse home to the full Period<sup>4</sup>, But content themselves with a Mediocrity of Successe. Certainly, it is good to compound Employments of both<sup>5</sup> ; For that will be Good for the Present,  
 40 because the Vertues<sup>6</sup> of either Age may correct the defects of both ; And good for Succession<sup>7</sup>, that Young Men may be Learners, while Men in Age are Actours ; And lastly, Good for Externe Accidents<sup>8</sup>, because Authority followeth Old Men, And Favour and Popularity Youth. But for the  
 45 Morall Part, perhaps Youth will have the preheminance, as Age hath for the Politique. A certaine Rabbine, upon the Text, *Your Young Men shall see visions, and your Old Men shall dreame dreames*, Inferreth that Young Men are admitted nearer to God then Old, Because Vision is a  
 50 clearer Revelation then a Dreame. And certainly, the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth ; And Age doth profit<sup>9</sup> rather in the Powers of Understanding then in the Vertues of the Will and Affections<sup>10</sup>. There be some have an Over-early Ripenesse<sup>11</sup> in  
 55 their yeares, which fadeth betimes : These are, first, Such as have Brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is soone turned ; Such as was Hermogenes the Rhetorician, whose Books are exceeding Subtill, Who afterwards waxed<sup>12</sup> Stupid. A Second Sort is of those, that have some naturall Dispositions

<sup>1</sup> settle<sup>2</sup> are not cautious about making innovations<sup>3</sup> a badly-trained horse<sup>4</sup> to the end<sup>5</sup> i.e. to employ young and old jointly<sup>6</sup> good qualities<sup>7</sup> for the future<sup>8</sup> good in its effects outside the parties themselves<sup>9</sup> make progress<sup>10</sup> feelings<sup>11</sup> There are some who have a precocity<sup>12</sup> grew

which have better Grace<sup>1</sup> in Youth then in Age; Such as 60  
is a fluent and Luxuriant Speech, which becomes Youth  
well, but not Age: So Tully saith of Hortensius, *Idem*  
*manebat, neque idem decebat*<sup>2</sup>. The third is of such as take  
too high a Straine at the First, And are Magnanimous  
more then Tract<sup>3</sup> of yeares can uphold. As was Scipio 65  
Affricanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, *Ultima primis*  
*cedeabant*<sup>4</sup>.

## XLIII

## OF BEAUTY

(VERTUE<sup>5</sup> is like a Rich Stone, best plaine set: And  
surely Vertue is best in a Body that is comely, though not  
of Delicate Features, And that hath rather Dignity of  
Presence then Beauty of Aspect. Neither is it almost<sup>6</sup>  
seene that very Beautifull Persons are otherwise of great  
Vertue; As if Nature were rather Busie not to erre then in  
labour to produce Excellency. And therefore, they prove  
Accomplished, but not of great Spirit<sup>7</sup>; And Study rather  
Behaviour then Vertue. But this holds not alwaies; For  
Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Belle of 10  
France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of  
Athens, Ismael the Sophy<sup>8</sup> of Persia, were all High and  
Great Spirits, And yet the most Beautifull Men of their  
Times. In Beauty, that of Favour<sup>9</sup> is more then that of  
Colour, And that of Decent and Gracious Motion<sup>10</sup> more 15  
then that of Favour. That is the best Part of Beauty,  
which a Picture cannot expresse; No, nor the first Sight of  
the Life<sup>11</sup>. There is no Excellent Beauty that hath not  
some Strangenesse in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell  
whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more Trifler; 20

<sup>1</sup> which are more becoming

<sup>2</sup> He remained the same, though  
a change would have become him  
better.

<sup>3</sup> length

<sup>4</sup> The end fell short of the be-  
ginning.

<sup>5</sup> Excellence

<sup>6</sup> generally

<sup>7</sup> of noble nature

<sup>8</sup> Sultan

<sup>9</sup> features

<sup>10</sup> becoming and graceful bearing

<sup>11</sup> of the living subject

Whereof the one would<sup>1</sup> make a Personage by Geometrical Proportions, The other, by taking the best Parts out of divers Faces to make one Excellent. Such Personages, I thinke, would please no Body but the Painter that made  
 25 them. Not but I thinke<sup>2</sup> a Painter may make a better Face then ever was; But he must doe it by a kinde of Felicity, (As a Musician that maketh an excellent Ayre in Musicke), And not by Rule. A Man shall see Faces that, if you examine them Part by Part, you shall finde never a  
 30 good; And yet all together doe well<sup>3</sup>. If it be true that the Principall Part of Beauty is in decent Motion, certainly it is no marvaile<sup>4</sup>, though Persons in Yeares seeme many times more Amiable<sup>5</sup>; (*Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher*<sup>6</sup>;) For no Youth can be comely but by Pardon, and con-  
 35 sidering the Youth as to make up the comelinesse<sup>7</sup>. Beauty is as Summer-Fruits, which are easie to corrupt<sup>8</sup> and cannot last: And, for the most part, it makes a dissolute Youth and an Age a little out of countenance<sup>9</sup>. But yet certainly againe, if it light well<sup>10</sup>, it maketh Vertues shine and Vices  
 40 blush<sup>11</sup>.

## XLIV

## OF DEFORMITY

DEFORMED Persons are commonly even with Nature: For as Nature hath done ill by them, So doe they by Nature, Being for the most part, (as the Scripture saith) *void of Naturall Affection*; And so they have their Revenge  
 5 of Nature. Certainly there is a Consent<sup>12</sup> between the Body

<sup>1</sup> wanted to  
<sup>2</sup> not but that I think  
<sup>3</sup> yet all the parts together are effective  
<sup>4</sup> wonder  
<sup>5</sup> often seem more lovable  
<sup>6</sup> The autumn of the fair is fair.  
<sup>7</sup> except by making allowances and regarding youth itself as an

element of beauty  
<sup>8</sup> which soon decay  
<sup>9</sup> an old age rather dissatisfied with itself  
<sup>10</sup> if it falls to the lot of a worthy person  
<sup>11</sup> it shows off a man's virtues to advantage and makes him blush at vice  
<sup>12</sup> an agreement

and the Minde; And where Nature erreth in the One, she ventureth in the Other<sup>1</sup>: *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero*<sup>2</sup>. But because there is in Man an Election<sup>3</sup> touching the Frame of his Minde, and a Necessity in the Frame of his Body, the Starres of Naturall Inclination are sometimes 10 obscured by the Sun of Discipline and Vertue<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, it is good to consider of Deformity, not as a Signe which is more Deceivable<sup>5</sup>, But as a Cause which seldome faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any Thing fixed<sup>6</sup> in his Person that doth enduce<sup>7</sup> Contempt, hath also a perpetuall Spurre 15 in himselfe to rescue and deliver himselfe from Scorne: Therefore all Deformed Persons are extreme<sup>8</sup> Bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorne, But in Processe of Time, by a Generall Habit. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kinde, to watch and 20 observe the Weaknesse of Others, that they may have somewhat to repay<sup>9</sup>. Againe, in their Superiours it quencheth Iealousie towards them, as Persons that they think they may at pleasure despise; And it layeth their Competitours and Emulatours asleepe, As never beleeving they should 25 be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in Possession. So that upon the matter<sup>10</sup>, in a great Wit<sup>11</sup>, Deformity is an Advantage to Rising. Kings in Ancient Times (And at this present in some Countries,) were wont to put Great Trust in Eunuchs, Because they that are 30 Envious towards All are more Obnoxious and Officious towards One<sup>12</sup>. But yet their Trust towards them hath rather beene as to good Spialls<sup>13</sup> and good Whisperers<sup>14</sup> then good Magistrates and Officers: And much like is the

<sup>1</sup> she runs a risk that the other may be amiss too

<sup>2</sup> Where she errs in the one, she runs a risk in the other.

<sup>3</sup> an option

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* his natural disposition yields to the influence of education and virtue, just as the stars are extinguished by the sun.

<sup>5</sup> for in this respect it is rather deceptive

<sup>6</sup> any permanent infirmity

<sup>7</sup> that brings upon him

<sup>8</sup> extremely

<sup>9</sup> that they may be able to retaliate

<sup>10</sup> upon the whole

<sup>11</sup> mind

<sup>12</sup> more submissive to and ready to serve one

<sup>13</sup> spies

<sup>14</sup> informers

- 35 Reason of Deformed Persons<sup>1</sup>. Still the Ground is, they will<sup>2</sup>, if they be of Spirit, seeke to free themselves from Scorne; Which must be either by Vertue or Malice; And therefore, let it not be Marvelled if sometimes they prove Excellent Persons; As was Agesilaus, Zanger the Sonne of  
40 Solymán, Æsope, Gasca President of Peru; And Socrates may goe likewise amongst them; with Others.

## XLV

## OF BUILDING

HOUSES are built to Live in, and not to Looke on; Therefore let Use bee preferred before Uniformitie<sup>3</sup>, Except where both may be had. Leave the Goodly Fabrickes of Houses for Beautie only to the Enchanted Pallaces of the  
5 Poets, Who build them with small Cost. Hee that builds a faire<sup>4</sup> House upon an ill Seat<sup>5</sup> committeth Himself to Prison. Neither doe I reckon it an ill Seat, ~~only~~ <sup>where</sup> the Aire is Unwholsome, But likewise where the Aire is unequall; As you shall see many Fine Seats, set upon a  
10 knap<sup>6</sup> of Ground, Environed with Higher Hilles round about it; whereby the Heat of the Sunne is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughes; So as<sup>7</sup> you shall have, and that suddenly, as great Diversitie of Heat and Cold as if you Dwelt in severall<sup>8</sup> Places. Neither is it ill Aire onely  
15 that maketh an ill Seat, but Ill Wayes, Ill Markets; And, if you will consult with Momus, Ill Neighbours. I speake not of many More; Want of Water; Want of Wood, Shade, and Shelter; Want of Fruitfulnesse, and mixture<sup>9</sup> of Grounds of severall Natures; Want of Prospect; Want  
20 of Levell Grounds; Want of Places, at some neare Distance, for Sports of Hunting, Hauking, and Races; Too

<sup>1</sup> And much the same is the relation in which deformed persons stand.

<sup>2</sup> Still, the general rule always holds good, that they will

<sup>3</sup> symmetry

<sup>4</sup> fine

<sup>5</sup> a bad site

<sup>6</sup> knoll

<sup>7</sup> so that

<sup>8</sup> different

<sup>9</sup> i.e. want of mixture

neare the Sea, too remote; Having<sup>1</sup> the Commoditie of Navigable Rivers, or the discommoditie<sup>2</sup> of their Overflowing; Too farre off from great Cities, which may hinder Businesse; Or too neare them, which Lurcheth<sup>3</sup> all Pro-  
visions and maketh every Thing deare: Where a Man hath  
a great Living laid together and where he is scanted: All  
which, as it is impossible perhaps to finde together, so it is  
good to know them and thinke of them, that a Man may  
take as many as he can: And if he have severall Dwellings, 30  
that he sort<sup>4</sup> them so that what hee wanteth in the One  
hee may finde in the Other. Lucullus answered Pompey  
well, Who, when hee saw his Stately Galleries and Roomes,  
so Large and Lightsome<sup>5</sup>, in one of his Houses, said;  
*Surely, an excellent Place for Summer, but how doe you in 35*  
*Winter?* Lucullus answered; *Why, doe you not think me as*  
*wise as some Fowle<sup>6</sup> are, that ever change their Aboad towards*  
*the Winter?*

To passe from the Seat to the House it selfe; We will  
doe as Cicero doth in the Oratour's Art, Who writes Bookes 40  
*De Oratore* and a Booke he entitles *Orator*: Whereof the  
Former delivers the Precepts of the Art, And the Latter the  
Perfection<sup>7</sup>. We will therefore describe a Princely Pallace,  
making a brieffe Modell thereof. For it is strange to see  
now in Europe such Huge Buildings as the *Vatican* and 45  
*Escoriall* and some Others be, and yet scarce a very Faire  
Roome in them.

First therefore, I say, you cannot have a Perfect Pallace,  
except you have two severall<sup>8</sup> Sides; A Side for the Ban-  
quet, as is spoken of in the Booke of *Hester*, And a Side 50  
for the Houshold; The One for Feasts and Triumphs<sup>9</sup>, and  
the Other for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides to  
be not onely Returnes<sup>10</sup>, but Parts of the Front; And to  
be uniforme without, though severally<sup>11</sup> Partitioned within;  
And to be on both Sides of a Great and Stately Tower in 55

<sup>1</sup> i.e. not having

<sup>2</sup> or having the drawback

<sup>3</sup> absorbs

<sup>4</sup> arrange

<sup>5</sup> light

<sup>6</sup> birds

<sup>7</sup> practice

<sup>8</sup> distinct

<sup>9</sup> pageants

<sup>10</sup> wings

<sup>11</sup> differently



the Middest of the Front, That as it were ioyneth them together on either Hand. I would have on the Side of the Banquet, in Front, one only<sup>1</sup> Goodly Roome above Staires, of some Fortie Foot high; And under it, a Roome for a  
 60 Dressing or Preparing Place at Times of Triumphs. On the other Side, which is the Houshold Side, I wish it divided at the first<sup>2</sup> into a Hall and a Chappell (with a Partition betweene,) Both of good State and Bignesse<sup>3</sup>; And those not to goe all the length, but to have, at the  
 65 further end, a Winter and a Summer Parler, both Faire. And under these Roomes, A Faire and Large Cellar, suncke under Ground: And likewise, some Privie<sup>4</sup> Kitchens, with Butteries and Pantries, and the like. As for the Tower, I would have it two Stories, of Eighteene Foot High a peece,  
 70 above the two Wings; And a Goodly Leads<sup>5</sup> upon the Top, railed with Statuas interposed<sup>6</sup>; And the same Tower to bee divided into Roomes, as shall be thought fit. The Staires likewise to the upper Roomes, let them bee upon a Faire open Newell<sup>7</sup>, and finely railed in, with Images of  
 75 Wood cast into a Brasse Colour<sup>8</sup>; And a very faire Landing Place at the Top. But this to be, if you doe not point<sup>9</sup> any of the lower Roomes for a Dining Place of Servants. For otherwise you shall have the Servants' Dinner after your owne: For the Steame of it will come up as in a  
 80 Tunnell<sup>10</sup>. And so much for the Front. Only, I understand the Height of the first Staires to be Sixteene Foot, which is the Height of the Lower Roome.

Beyond this Front is there to be a Faire Court, but three Sides of it of a Farre Lower building then the Front.  
 85 And in all the foure Corners of that Court, Faire Staire Cases, cast into Turrets on the Outside, and not within the Row of Buildings themselves<sup>11</sup>. But those Towers are not to be of the Height of the Front, But rather Proportionable

<sup>1</sup> single<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* beginning from the tower<sup>3</sup> size<sup>4</sup> private<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* a good-sized flat roof covered with lead<sup>6</sup> statues at intervals<sup>7</sup> shaft<sup>8</sup> made to look like bronze<sup>9</sup> appoint<sup>10</sup> funnel<sup>11</sup> contained within turrets which project beyond the line of the buildings

to the Lower Building. Let the Court not be paved, for that striketh up a great Heat in Summer and much Cold 90 in Winter. But onely some Side Alleys<sup>1</sup>, with a Crosse, and the Quarters to Graze<sup>2</sup>, being kept Shorne, but not too neare Shorne<sup>3</sup>. The Row of Returne<sup>4</sup>, on the Banquet Side, Let it be all Stately Galleries; In which Galleries, Let there be three or five fine Cupolas in the Length of it, 95 placed at equall distance: And fine Coloured Windowes of severall workes. On the Houshold Side, Chambers of Presence<sup>5</sup> and Ordinary Entertainments<sup>6</sup>, with some Bed-chambers; And let all three Sides be a double House<sup>7</sup>, without Thorow Lights<sup>8</sup> on the Sides, that you may have 100 Roomes from<sup>9</sup> the Sunne, both for Fore-noone and After-noone. Cast<sup>10</sup> it also that you may have Roomes both for Summer and Winter; Shadie for Summer and Warme for Winter. You shall have<sup>11</sup> sometimes Faire Houses so full of Glasse that one cannot tell where to become<sup>12</sup> to be out 105 of the Sunne or Cold. For Inbowed Windowes<sup>13</sup>, I hold them of good Use; (In Cities indeed, Upright doe better, in respect of the Uniformitie towards the Street;) For they bee Prettie Retiring Places for Conference; And besides, they keepe both the Wind and Sunne off: For that which 110 would strike almost thorow the Roome doth scarce passe the Window. But let them be but few, Foure in the Court, On the Sides onely.

Beyond this Court, let there be an Inward<sup>14</sup> Court of the same Square and Height, Which is to be environed with<sup>15</sup> 115 the Garden on all Sides; And in the Inside, Cloistered on all Sides upon Decent and Beautifull Arches, as High as the first Story. On the Under Story, towards the Garden, Let it be turned to a Grotta, or Place of Shade,

<sup>1</sup> walks

<sup>2</sup> with paths across it down the middle each way and turf on the four square plots thus formed

<sup>3</sup> not cut too close

<sup>4</sup> The line of the wing

<sup>5</sup> reception rooms

<sup>6</sup> i.e. living-rooms

<sup>7</sup> i.e. have rooms facing both ways

<sup>8</sup> without windows opposite each other

<sup>9</sup> away from

<sup>10</sup> Arrange

<sup>11</sup> You will find

<sup>12</sup> where to betake oneself

<sup>13</sup> As for bow-windows

<sup>14</sup> inner

<sup>15</sup> by

120 or Estivation<sup>1</sup>; And onely have opening and Windowes towards the Garden; And be Levell upon the Floare, no whit sunke<sup>2</sup> under Ground, to avoid all Dampishnesse. And let there be a Fountaine, or some faire Worke of Statuas, in the Middest of this Court; And to be Paved as the other Court  
 125 was. These Buildings to be for Privie Lodgings<sup>3</sup> on both Sides; And the End, for Privie Galleries. Whereof, you must fore-see<sup>4</sup> that one of them be for an Infirmary, if the Prince or any Speciall Person should be Sicke, with Chambers, Bed-chamber, Anticamera, and Recamera<sup>5</sup>, ioyn-  
 130 ing to it: This upon the Second Story. Upon the Ground Story, a Faire Gallery, Open, upon Pillars: And upon the Third Story likewise an Open Gallery upon Pillars, to take the Prospect and Freshnesse of the Garden. At both Corners of the further Side<sup>6</sup>, by way of Returne<sup>7</sup>, Let there  
 135 be two Delicate or Rich Cabinets<sup>8</sup>, Daintily Paved, Richly Hanged<sup>9</sup>, Glased with Crystalline Glasse, and a Rich Cupola in the Middest; And all other Elegancie that may be thought upon. In the Upper Gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the Place will yeeld it, some Fountaines  
 140 Running in divers Places from the Wall, with some fine Avoidances<sup>10</sup>. And thus much for the Modell<sup>11</sup> of the Pallace; Save that, you must have, before you come to the Front, three Courts. A Greene Court Plain, with a Wall about it; A Second Court of the same, but more  
 145 Garnished<sup>12</sup>, with little Turrets, or rather Embellishments, upon the Wall; And a Third Court, to make a Square, with the Front, but not to be built<sup>13</sup>, nor yet enclosed with a Naked Wall, but enclosed with Tarrasses, Leaded aloft<sup>14</sup>, and fairely garnished on the three Sides; And Cloistered  
 150 on the Inside with Pillars, and not with Arches Below. As for Offices, let them stand at Distance, with some Low Galleries to passe from them to the Pallace it Selfe.

<sup>1</sup> or for use in summer<sup>2</sup> not sunk at all<sup>3</sup> private apartments<sup>4</sup> provide<sup>5</sup> antechamber and inner chamber<sup>6</sup> i.e. the end<sup>7</sup> where the wings join the end<sup>8</sup> closets<sup>9</sup> hung with tapestry<sup>10</sup> small outlets for the water<sup>11</sup> plan<sup>12</sup> ornamented<sup>13</sup> surrounded with buildings<sup>14</sup> but enclosed by raised promenades on a lead flooring

## XLVI

## OF GARDENS

GOD Almighty first Planted a Garden. And indeed it is the Purest of Humane<sup>1</sup> pleasures. It is the Greatest Refreshment to the Spirits of Man; Without which, Buildings and Pallaces are but Grosse Handy-works<sup>2</sup>: And a Man shall ever<sup>3</sup> see that, when Ages grow to Civility<sup>4</sup> and Elegancie, Men come to Build Stately sooner then to Garden Finely: As if Gardening were the Greater Perfection. I doe hold it<sup>5</sup>, in the Royall Ordering of Gardens<sup>6</sup>, there ought to be Gardens for all the Moneths in the Yeare; In which, severally, Things of Beautie may be then 10 in Season. For December and Ianuary and the Latter Part of November, you must take such Things as are Greene all Winter: Holly; Ivy; Bayes; Iuniper; Cipresse Trees; Eugh; Pine-Apple-Trees<sup>7</sup>; Firre-Trees; Rose-Mary; Lavander; Periwinkle, the White, the Purple, and the 15 Blewe; Germander; Flagges; Orenge-Trees; Limon-Trees; And Mirtles, if they be stooved<sup>8</sup>; and Sweet Marioram, warme set<sup>9</sup>. There followeth, for the latter Part of Ianuary and February, the Mezerion Tree, which then blossomes; Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow and the Gray; Prime- 20 Roses; Anemones; The Early Tulippa; Hiacynthus Orientalis; Chamaïris<sup>10</sup>; Frettellaria<sup>11</sup>. For March, There come Violets, specially the Single Blew which are the Earliest; The Yellow Daffadill; The Dazie; The Almond-Tree in Blossome; The Peach-Tree in Blossome; The Cornelian- 25 Tree<sup>12</sup> in Blossome; Sweet-Briar. In Aprill follow, The Double white Violet; The Wall-flower; The Stock-Gilly-Flower<sup>13</sup>; The Couflip; Flower-Delices<sup>14</sup>, and Lillies of all

<sup>1</sup> human<sup>2</sup> works of men's hands<sup>3</sup> always<sup>4</sup> civilization<sup>5</sup> I maintain<sup>6</sup> in arranging gardens on a magnificent scale<sup>7</sup> pine-trees<sup>8</sup> kept in hot-houses<sup>9</sup> if planted in a warm situation<sup>10</sup> dwarf iris<sup>11</sup> fritillary<sup>12</sup> cornelian cherry<sup>13</sup> common stock<sup>14</sup> fleur-de-lis

Natures; Rose-mary Flowers; The Tulippa; The Double  
 30 Piony; The Pale Daffadill; The French Honny-Suckle;  
 The Cherry-Tree in Blossome; The Dammasin<sup>1</sup>, and Plum-  
 Trees in Blossome; The White-Thorne in Leafe; The  
 Lelacke Tree. In May, and Iune, come Pincks of all  
 sorts, Specially the Blush Pincke; Roses of all kinds,  
 35 except the Muske which comes later; Hony-Suckles;  
 Strawberries; Buglosse; Columbine; The French Mary-  
 gold; Flos Africanus<sup>2</sup>; Cherry-Tree in Fruit; Ribes<sup>3</sup>;  
 Figges in Fruit; Raspes<sup>4</sup>; Vine Flowers; Lavender in  
 Flowers; The Sweet Satyrian<sup>5</sup>, with the White Flower;  
 40 Herba Muscaria<sup>6</sup>; Liliū Convallium<sup>7</sup>; The Apple-tree  
 in Blossome. In Iuly, come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties;  
 Muske Roses; The Lime-Tree in blossome; Early Peares,  
 and Plummes in Fruit; Ginnitings<sup>8</sup>; Quadlins<sup>9</sup>. In August,  
 come Plummes of all sorts in Fruit; Peares; Apricockes<sup>10</sup>;  
 45 Berberies; Filberds<sup>11</sup>; Muske-Melons; Monks Hoods, of  
 all colours. In September, come Grapes; Apples; Poppies  
 of all colours; Peaches; Melo-Cotones<sup>12</sup>; Nectarines; Cor-  
 nelians<sup>13</sup>; Wardens<sup>14</sup>; Quinces. In October and the begin-  
 ning of November, come Services; Medlars; Bullises<sup>15</sup>;  
 50 Roses Cut or Removed to come late; Hollyokes; and  
 such like. These Particulars are for the Climate of  
 London; But my meaning is Perceived, that you may  
 have *Ver Perpetuum*<sup>16</sup>, as the Place affords.

And because the Breath of Flowers is farre Sweeter in  
 55 the Aire (where it comes and Goes, like the Warbling of  
 Musick) then in the hand, therfore nothing is more fit for  
 that delight then to know what be the Flowers and Plants  
 that doe best perfume the Aire. Roses Damask and Red  
 are fast Flowers of their Smels<sup>17</sup>; So that you may walke by

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<sup>1</sup> damson

<sup>2</sup> African marigold

<sup>3</sup> currants

<sup>4</sup> raspberries

<sup>5</sup> orchis

<sup>6</sup> grape hyacinth

<sup>7</sup> lily of the valley

<sup>8</sup> early apples

<sup>9</sup> codlings

<sup>10</sup> apricots

<sup>11</sup> filberts

<sup>12</sup> yellow peaches

<sup>13</sup> cornel-tree cherries

<sup>14</sup> winter pears

<sup>15</sup> wild plums

<sup>16</sup> perpetual spring

<sup>17</sup> flowers which do not freely  
give out their smells

a whole Row of them and finde Nothing of their Sweet- 60  
 nesse; Yea, though it be in a Morning's Dew. Bayes  
 likewise yeeld no Smell as they grow. Rosemary little;  
 Nor Sweet-Marioram. That which above all Others yeelds  
 the Sweetest Smell in the Aire is the Violet; Specially the  
 White-double-Violet, which comes twice a Yeare; About 65  
 the middle of Aprill, and about Bartholomew-tide<sup>1</sup>. Next  
 to that is the Muske-Rose. Then the Strawberry-Leaves  
 dying, which [yeeld] a most Excellent Cordiall Smell.  
 Then the Flower of the Vines; It is a little dust, like the  
 dust of a Bent<sup>2</sup>, which growes upon the Cluster in the First 70  
 comming forth. Then Sweet Briar. Then Wall-Flowers,  
 which are very Delightfull, to be set under a Parler or  
 Lower Chamber Window. Then Pincks' and Gilly-Flowers,  
 specially the Matted Pinck and Clove Gilly-flower<sup>3</sup>. Then  
 the Flowers of the Lime tree. Then the Hony-Suckles, 75  
 so<sup>4</sup> they be somewhat a farre off. Of Beane Flowers I  
 speake not, because they are Field Flowers. But those  
 which Perfume the Aire most delightfully, not passed by as  
 the rest, but being Troden upon and Crushed, are Three:  
 That is Burnet, Wilde-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore, 80  
 you are to set whole Allies<sup>5</sup> of them, to have the Pleasure  
 when you walke or tread.

For<sup>6</sup> Gardens, (Speaking of those which are indeed  
 Prince-like<sup>7</sup>, as we have done of Buildings), the Contents  
 ought not well to be under Thirty Acres of Ground, And to 85  
 be divided into three Parts: A Greene in the Entrance; A  
 Heath or Desart in the Going forth<sup>8</sup>; And the Maine  
 Garden in the midst, Besides Alleys on both Sides. And  
 I like well that Foure Acres of Ground be assigned to the  
 Greene; Six to the Heath, Foure and Foure to either Side; 90  
 And Twelve to the Maine Garden. The Greene hath two  
 pleasures; The one, because nothing is more Pleasant to  
 the Eye then Greene Grasse kept finely shorne<sup>9</sup>; The  
 other, because it will give you a faire Alléy in the midst,

<sup>1</sup> i.e. about August 24th

<sup>2</sup> of stalked grass

<sup>3</sup> carnation

<sup>4</sup> provided

<sup>5</sup> paths, *passim*

<sup>6</sup> As regards

<sup>7</sup> princely, magnificent

<sup>8</sup> at the exit

<sup>9</sup> cut close

95 by which you may go in front upon<sup>1</sup> a Stately Hedge, which is to inclose the Garden. But, because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Yeare or Day, you ought not to buy the shade in the Garden by Going in the Sunne thorow the Greene, therefore you are, of<sup>2</sup> either Side  
 100 the Greene, to Plant a Covert<sup>3</sup> Alley, upon Carpenter's Worke<sup>4</sup>, about Twelve Foot in Height, by which you may goe in Shade into the Garden. As for the Making of Knots<sup>5</sup> or Figures with Divers Coloured Earths, that they may lie under the Windowes of the House, on that Side  
 105 which the Garden stands, they be but Toyes<sup>6</sup>: You may see as good Sight, many times, in Tarts. The Garden is best to be Square; Incompassed, on all the Foure Sides, with a Stately Arched Hedge. The Arches to be upon Pillars of Carpenter's Worke, of some Ten Foot high and  
 110 Six Foot broad; And the Spaces between of the same Dimension with the Breadth of the Arch. Over the Arches, let there bee an Entire Hedge<sup>7</sup>, of some Foure Foot High, framed also upon Carpenter's Worke; And upon the Upper Hedge, over every Arch, a little Turret, with a Belly  
 115 enough<sup>8</sup> to receive a Cage of Birds: And over every Space, betweene the Arches, some other little Figure, with Broad Plates of Round Coloured Glasse, gilt, for the Sunne to Play upon. But this Hedge I entend to be raised upon a Bancke, not Steepe, but gently Slope<sup>9</sup>, of some Six Foot,  
 120 set all with Flowers. Also I understand that this Square of the Garden should not be the whole Breadth of the Ground, but to leave<sup>10</sup>, on either Side, Ground enough for diversity of Side Alleys; Unto which the Two Covert Alleys of the Greene may deliver you. But there must  
 125 be no Alleys with Hedges, at either End of this great Inclosure; Not at the Hither End, for letting<sup>11</sup> your Prospect upon this Faire Hedge from the Greene; Nor

<sup>1</sup> you may advance towards  
<sup>2</sup> on  
<sup>3</sup> sheltered  
<sup>4</sup> on wooden trellis-work  
<sup>5</sup> beds  
<sup>6</sup> trifles

<sup>7</sup> a continuous fence  
<sup>8</sup> with a bulge big enough  
<sup>9</sup> sloping  
<sup>10</sup> but that there should be left  
<sup>11</sup> because of obstructing

at the Further End, for letting<sup>1</sup> your Prospect from the Hedge, through the Arches, upon the Heath.

For<sup>2</sup> the Ordering of the Ground within the Great Hedge, I leave it to Variety of Device; Advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever forme you cast it into<sup>3</sup>, first it be not too Busie<sup>4</sup> or full of Worke. Wherein I, for my part, doe not like Images Cut out in Iuniper or other Garden stuffe: They be for Children. Little low Hedges, Round, like Welts<sup>5</sup>, with some Pretty Pyramides, I like well: And in some Places, Faire<sup>6</sup> Columnes upon Frames of Carpenter's Worke. I would also have the Alleys Spacious and Faire. You may have Closer<sup>7</sup> Alleys upon the Side Grounds, but none in the Maine Garden. I wish also, in the very Middle, a Faire Mount, with three Ascents<sup>8</sup> and Alleys, enough for foure to walke a breast; Which I would have to be Perfect Circles, without any Bulwarkes or Imbosments<sup>9</sup>; And the Whole Mount to be Thirty Foot high; And some fine Banquetting House, with some Chimneys neatly cast<sup>10</sup>, and without too much Glasse.

For<sup>2</sup> Fountaines, they are a great Beauty and Refreshment; But Pooles marre all, and make the Garden unwholsome and full of Flies and Frogs. Fountaines I intend to be of two Natures: The One, that Sprinckleth or Spouteth Water; The Other a Faire Receipt<sup>11</sup> of Water, of some Thirty or Forty Foot Square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the Ornaments of Images Gilt or of Marble, which are in use, doe well: But the maine Matter is, so to Convey the Water as<sup>12</sup> it never Stay, either in the Bowles or in the Cesterne, That the Water be never by Rest<sup>13</sup> Discoloured, Greene, or Red, or the like, Or gather any Mossinesse or Putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the Hand. Also some Steps up to it, and some Fine Pavement about it,

<sup>1</sup> because of obstructing

<sup>2</sup> As regards

<sup>3</sup> in whatever way you lay it out

<sup>4</sup> elaborate

<sup>5</sup> borders

<sup>6</sup> fine

<sup>7</sup> narrower

<sup>8</sup> flights of steps

<sup>9</sup> any balustrade or projections

<sup>10</sup> some fireplaces neatly arranged

<sup>11</sup> receptacle

<sup>12</sup> that

<sup>13</sup> by standing



doth well. As for the other Kinde of Fountaine, which we may call a Bathing Poole, it may admit much Curiosity<sup>1</sup> and Beauty; wherewith we will not trouble our selves: As, that the Bottome be finely Paved, And with Images: The  
 165 sides likewise; And withall Embellished with Coloured Glasse and such Things of Lustre; Encompassed also with fine Railes of Low Statuas. But the Maine Point is the same which we mentioned in the former Kinde of Fountaine; which is, that the Water be in Perpetuall Motion,  
 170 Fed by a Water higher then the Poole, and Delivered into it by faire Spouts, and then discharged away under Ground by some Equalitie of Bores<sup>2</sup>, that it stay little<sup>3</sup>. And for<sup>4</sup> fine Devices of Arching Water<sup>5</sup> without Spilling, and Making it rise in severall Formes, (of Feathers, Drinking  
 175 Glasses, Canopies, and the like,) they be pretty things to looke on, but Nothing to<sup>6</sup> Health and Sweetnesse.

For<sup>4</sup> the Heath, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a Naturall wildnesse. Trees I would have none in it; But some  
 180 Thickets, made onely of Sweet-Briar and Honny-suckle, and some Wilde-Vine amongst; And the Ground set with Violets, Strawberries, and Prime-Roses. For these are Sweet, and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the Heath, here and there, not in any Order. I like also little  
 185 Heaps, in the Nature of Mole-hils, (such as are in Wilde Heaths) to be set, some with Wilde Thyme; Some with Pincks; Some with Germander, that gives a good Flower to the Eye; Some with Periwinkle; Some with Violets; Some with Strawberries; Some with Couslips; Some with  
 190 Daisies; Some with Red-Roses; Some with Lilium Convallium; Some with Sweet-Williams Red; Some with Beare's-Foot<sup>7</sup>; And the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet and Sightly: Part of which Heapes, to be with Standards of little Bushes prick<sup>8</sup> upon their Top, and  
 195 Part without. The Standards to be Roses; Iuniper;

<sup>1</sup> ingenuity<sup>2</sup> pipes of equal dimensions<sup>3</sup> may not stand long<sup>4</sup> As regards<sup>5</sup> making water form an arch<sup>6</sup> do not affect<sup>7</sup> stinking hellebore<sup>8</sup> planted

Holly; Beare-berries (but here and there<sup>1</sup>, because of the Smell of their Blossome,) Red Currans; Goose-berries; Rose-Mary; Bayes; Sweet-Briar; and such like. But these Standards, to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course<sup>2</sup>.

For<sup>3</sup> the Side Grounds, you are to fill them with Varietie of Alleys, Private, to give a full Shade, Some of them, wheresoever the Sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for Shelter, that when the Wind blows Sharpe, you may walke, as in a Gallery. And those Alleys must be likewise hedged at both Ends to keepe out the Wind; And these Closer Alleys must bee ever<sup>4</sup> finely Gravelled, and no Grasse, because of Going wet<sup>5</sup>. In many of these Alleys likewise, you are to set Fruit-Trees of all Sorts; As well upon the Walles as in Ranges<sup>6</sup>. And this would<sup>7</sup> be generally observed, that the Borders, wherin you plant your Fruit-Trees, be Faire and Large, and Low, and not Steepe; And Set with Fine Flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they Deceive the Trees<sup>8</sup>. At the End of both the Side Grounds, I would have a Mount of some Pretty Height<sup>9</sup>, leaving the Wall of the Enclosure Brest high<sup>10</sup>, to looke abroad into the Fields. 200 205 210 215

For<sup>3</sup> the Maine Garden, I doe not Deny but there should be some Faire Alleys, ranged<sup>11</sup> on both Sides with Fruit Trees; And some Pretty Tufts of Fruit Trees, And Arbours with Seats, set in some Decent Order; But these to be by no Meanes set too thicke; But to leave the Maine Garden so as<sup>12</sup> it be not close, but the Aire Open and Free. For as for Shade, I would have you rest<sup>13</sup> upon the Alleys of the Side Grounds, there to walke, if you be Disposed, in the Heat of the Yeare, or day; But to make Account<sup>14</sup> that the Maine Garden is for the more Temperate Parts of the 220 225

<sup>1</sup> but only at intervals

<sup>2</sup> out of bounds

<sup>3</sup> As regards

<sup>4</sup> always

<sup>5</sup> walking through the wet

<sup>6</sup> in rows

<sup>7</sup> should

<sup>8</sup> rob the trees of nourishment

<sup>9</sup> fairly high

<sup>10</sup> i.e. so that when you are on the top of the mound your breast is level with the top of the wall

<sup>11</sup> planted in rows

<sup>12</sup> so that

<sup>13</sup> depend

<sup>14</sup> to reckon

yeare, And in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning and the Evening, or Over-cast Dayes.

- 230 For<sup>1</sup> Aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that Largenesse as<sup>2</sup> they may be Turffed, and have Living Plants and Bushes set in them; That the Birds may have more Scope, and Naturall Nestling, and that no Foulenesse appear in the Floare of the Aviary. So I have made a  
235 Platforme<sup>3</sup> of a Princely Garden, Partly by Precept, Partly by Drawing<sup>4</sup>, not a Modell, but some generall Lines of it; And in this I have spared for no Cost<sup>5</sup>. But it is Nothing for Great Princes, that, for the most Part, taking Advice with Workmen, with no Lesse Cost set their Things to-  
240 gether<sup>6</sup>; And sometimes adde Statuas and such Things, for State and Magnificence, but nothing to<sup>7</sup> the true Pleasure of a Garden.

## XLVII

## OF NEGOCIATING

- It is generally better to deale by Speech then by Letter; And by the Mediation of a Third then by a Man's Selfe. Letters are good, when a Man would<sup>8</sup> draw an Answer by Letter backe againe; Or when it may serve for a Man's  
5 Iustification afterwards to produce his owne Letter; Or where it may be Danger to be interrupted<sup>9</sup>, or heard by Peeces. To deale in Person is good, when a Man's Face breedeth Regard, as Commonly with Inferiours; Or in Tender<sup>10</sup> Cases, where a Man's Eye, upon the Countenance  
10 of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a Direction how farre to goe: And generally, where a Man will<sup>11</sup> reserve to himselfe Libertie either to Disavow or to Expound<sup>12</sup>. In

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<sup>1</sup> As for

<sup>2</sup> of such a size that

<sup>3</sup> a plan

<sup>4</sup> by sketching

<sup>5</sup> I have not studied economy

<sup>6</sup> lay out their grounds at just as great expense as if they adopted my scheme

<sup>7</sup> *i.e.* but do not add to

<sup>8</sup> wishes to

<sup>9</sup> where there may be danger of being interrupted

<sup>10</sup> delicate

<sup>11</sup> wishes to

<sup>12</sup> either to disclaim the interpretation put upon his language or to explain his real meaning

Choice of Instruments, it is better to choose Men of a Plainer Sort, that are like<sup>1</sup> to doe that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the Successe<sup>2</sup>, 15 Then those that are Cunning<sup>3</sup> to Contrive out of other Men's Businesse somewhat to grace themselves<sup>4</sup>, And will helpe the Matter, in Report, for Satisfaction sake<sup>5</sup>. Use also such Persons as affect<sup>6</sup> the Businesse wherin they are Employed; For that quickneth<sup>7</sup> much; And such as are 20 Fit for the Matter; As Bold Men for Expostulation, Faire spoken Men for Perswasion, Craftie Men for Enquiry and Observation, Froward and Absurd<sup>8</sup> Men for Businesse that doth not well beare out it Selfe<sup>9</sup>. Use also such as have beene Luckie and Prevailed before in Things wherein you 25 have Employed them; For that breeds Confidence, and they will strive to maintaine their Prescription<sup>10</sup>. It is better to sound a Person, with whom one Deales, a farre off then to fall upon the Point at first; Except you meane to surprize him by some Short Question. It is better Dealing 30 with Men in Appetite<sup>11</sup> then with those that are where they would be<sup>12</sup>. If a Man Deale with another upon Conditions, the Start or First Performance is all; Which a Man cannot reasonably Demaund, except either the Nature of the Thing be such which<sup>13</sup> must goe before; Or Else a Man can 35 perswade the other Partie that hee shall still need him in some other Thing; Or else that he be counted the Honester Man. All Practise is to Discover, or to Worke<sup>14</sup>. Men Discover themselves, in Trust<sup>15</sup>; In Passion; At unawares; And of Necessitie, when they would<sup>16</sup> have somewhat done 40 and cannot finde an apt Pretext. If you would Worke<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> likely<sup>2</sup> result<sup>3</sup> skilful<sup>4</sup> something to reflect credit on themselves<sup>5</sup> will give too favourable a report of the matter in order to please their employer<sup>6</sup> have a liking for<sup>7</sup> stimulates<sup>8</sup> obstinate and unreasonable<sup>9</sup> cannot stand upon its own

merits

<sup>10</sup> reputation for success<sup>11</sup> in want of something<sup>12</sup> they wish to be<sup>13</sup> that it<sup>14</sup> i.e. All negotiation consists in finding out people's characters and working upon them.<sup>15</sup> reveal themselves in their confidences<sup>16</sup> wish to<sup>17</sup> work upon, influence

any Man, you must either know his Nature and Fashions<sup>1</sup> and so Lead him ; Or his Ends, and so Perswade him ; Or his Weaknesse and Disadvantages, and so Awe him ; or  
 45 those that have Interest in<sup>2</sup> him, and so Governe him. In Dealing with Cunning Persons, we must ever Consider their Ends, to interpret their Speeches ; And it is good to say little to them, and that which they least looke for. In all Negociations of Difficultie, a Man may not looke to Sowe  
 50 and Reape at once ; But must Prepare Businesse, and so Ripen it by Degrees.

## XLVIII

## OF FOLLOWERS AND FREINDS

COSTLY Followers are not to be liked ; Lest while a Man maketh his Traine Longer, hee make his Wings Shorter. I reckon to bee Costly, not them alone which charge the Purse, but which are Wearisome and Importune<sup>3</sup>  
 5 in Sutes. Ordinary Followers ought to challenge<sup>4</sup> no Higher Conditions then Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs. Factious Followers are worse to be liked, which Follow not upon<sup>5</sup> Affection to him with whom they range Themselves, but upon<sup>6</sup> Dis-  
 10 contentment Conceived against some Other : Whereupon commonly ensueth that Ill Intelligence<sup>7</sup> that we many times see betweene Great Personages. Likewise Glorious<sup>7</sup> Followers, who make themselves as Trumpets of the Commendation of those they Follow, are full of Inconvenience ;  
 15 For they taint Businesse through Want of Secrecie ; And they Export Honour from a Man, and make him a Returne in Envie. There is a Kinde of Followers likewise which are Dangerous, being indeed Espials<sup>8</sup> ; which enquire the Secrets of the House, and beare Tales of them to Others.

<sup>1</sup> habits<sup>2</sup> influence over<sup>3</sup> importunate<sup>4</sup> demand<sup>5</sup> from<sup>6</sup> those misunderstandings<sup>7</sup> boastful<sup>8</sup> spies

Yet such Men, many times<sup>1</sup>, are in great Favour; For they 20  
are Officious<sup>2</sup>, And commonly Exchange Tales. The Fol-  
lowing by certaine Estates of Men, answerable to that  
which a Great Person himselfe professeth<sup>3</sup>, (as of Soldiers  
to him that hath been Employed in the Warres, and the  
like,) hath ever beene a Thing Civill<sup>4</sup>, and well taken even 25  
in Monarchies, So<sup>5</sup> it be without too much Pompe or  
Popularitie<sup>6</sup>. But the most Honourable Kinde of Fol-  
lowing is to be Followed as one that apprehendeth to  
advance<sup>7</sup> Vertue and Desert in all Sorts of Persons. And  
yet, where there is no Eminent Odds in Sufficiencie<sup>8</sup>, it is 30  
better to take with the more Passable then with the more  
Able<sup>9</sup>. And besides, to speake Truth, in Base Times<sup>10</sup>,  
Active Men are of more use then Vertuous<sup>11</sup>. It is true  
that, in Government, it is Good to use Men of one Rancke  
equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily is to make 35  
them Insolent, and the rest Discontent<sup>12</sup>; Because they may  
claime a Due. But contrariwise in Favour<sup>13</sup>, to use Men  
with much Difference and Election<sup>14</sup> is Good; For it maketh  
the Persons Preferred more Thankfull, and the Rest more  
officious<sup>15</sup>; Because all is of Favour<sup>16</sup>. It is good Discretion 40  
not to make too much of any Man at the first; Because  
One cannot hold out that Proportion<sup>17</sup>. To be governed<sup>18</sup>  
(as we call it) by One is not safe: For it shewes Softnesse<sup>19</sup>,  
and gives a Freedome to Scandall and Disreputation<sup>20</sup>:  
For those that would not Censure or Speake ill of a Man 45  
immediatly<sup>21</sup> will talke more boldly of Those that are so

<sup>1</sup> often

<sup>2</sup> ready to do services

<sup>3</sup> That an eminent man should  
have followers amongst persons  
belonging to his own profession

<sup>4</sup> has always been considered  
decorous

<sup>5</sup> provided that

<sup>6</sup> the courting of popular favour

<sup>7</sup> one who undertakes the patron-  
age of

<sup>8</sup> equality in

<sup>9</sup> the

<sup>10</sup> the

<sup>11</sup> man

one who is somewhat abler

<sup>10</sup> in a corrupt age

<sup>11</sup> men of marked ability

<sup>12</sup> discontented

<sup>13</sup> in matters of private patronage

<sup>14</sup> selection

<sup>15</sup> ready to serve

<sup>16</sup> it is all a matter of grace

<sup>17</sup> one cannot keep on giving  
him marks of distinction on the  
same scale

<sup>18</sup> to be managed

<sup>19</sup> weakness

<sup>20</sup> disrepute

<sup>21</sup> directly

great with them, and thereby Wound their Honour. Yet to be Distracted with many is Worse; For it makes Men to be of the Last Impression<sup>1</sup>, and full of Change. To  
 50 take Advice of some few Freinds is ever<sup>2</sup> Honourable; *For Lookers on, many times, see more then Gamesters; And the Vale best discovereth<sup>3</sup> the Hill.* There is Little Frendship in the World, and Least of all betweene Equals, which was wont to be Magnified. That that is, is between Superiour  
 55 and Inferiour, whose Fortunes may Comprehend<sup>4</sup>, the One the Other.

## XLIX

## OF SUTOURS

MANY ill Matters and Proiects are undertaken<sup>5</sup>; And Private Sutes do Putrifie<sup>6</sup> the Publique Good. Many Good Matters are undertaken with Bad Mindes; I meane not onely Corrupt Mindes, but Craftie Mindes, that intend not  
 5 Performance. Some embrace<sup>7</sup> Sutes, which never meane to deale effectually in them; But if they see there may be life in the Matter by some other meane<sup>8</sup>, they will be content to winne a Thanke<sup>9</sup>, or take a Second<sup>10</sup> Reward, or at least to make Use, in the meane time, of the Sutour's  
 10 Hopes. Some take hold of Sutes onely for an Occasion to Crosse<sup>11</sup> some other; Or to make an Information<sup>12</sup>, whereof they could not otherwise have apt Pretext; without Care what become of the Sute, when that Turne is served<sup>13</sup>: Or generally, to make other Men's Businesse a Kinde of  
 15 Entertainment to bring in their owne<sup>14</sup>. Nay, some undertake

<sup>1</sup> causes men to be influenced  
 by the last speaker

<sup>2</sup> always

<sup>3</sup> brings into view

<sup>4</sup> include

<sup>5</sup> taken up (by a patron)

<sup>6</sup> corrupt

<sup>7</sup> promise to support

<sup>8</sup> if they see that the suit may be  
 successful through the agency of

somebody else

<sup>9</sup> win thanks

<sup>10</sup> secondary, inferior

<sup>11</sup> thwart

<sup>12</sup> disclose something

<sup>13</sup> when their own object is  
 gained

<sup>14</sup> a pretext for introducing their  
 own

Sutes with a full Purpose to let them fall<sup>1</sup>, To the end, to gratifie the Adverse Partie or Competitour. Surely, there is, in some sort<sup>2</sup>, a Right in every Sute; Either a Right of Equity, if it be a Sute of Controversie<sup>3</sup>; Or a Right of Desert, if it be a Sute of Petition<sup>4</sup>. If Affection lead a 20 Man to favour the Wrong Side in Iustice, let him rather use his Countenance to Compound the Matter<sup>5</sup> then to Carry it. If Affection lead a Man to favour the lesse Worthy in Desert, let him doe it without Depraving or Disabling<sup>6</sup> the Better Deserver. In Sutes which a man 25 doth not well understand, it is good to referre them to some Frend of Trust and Iudgement, that may report whether hee may deale in them<sup>7</sup> with Honour: But let him chuse well his Referendaries<sup>8</sup>, for else he may be led by the Nose<sup>9</sup>. Sutores are so distasted<sup>10</sup> with Delayes and Abuses, 30 that Plaine Dealing, in denying<sup>11</sup> to deale in Sutes at first, and Reporting the Successe barely<sup>12</sup>, and in Challenging<sup>13</sup> no more Thanks then one hath deserved, is grown not onely Honourable, but also Gracious<sup>14</sup>. In Sutes of Favour<sup>15</sup>, the first Comming ought to take little Place<sup>16</sup>: 35 So farre forth Consideration may bee had of his Trust<sup>17</sup>, that if Intelligence of the Matter could not otherwise have beene had but by him, Advantage bee not taken of the Note<sup>18</sup>, but the Partie left to his other Meanes; and, in some sort<sup>19</sup>, Recompenced for his Discoverie<sup>20</sup>. To be 40 Ignorant of the value of a Sute<sup>21</sup> is Simplicitie; As well as to be Ignorant of the Right thereof is Want of Conscience.

<sup>1</sup> let them drop<sup>2</sup> after a fashion<sup>3</sup> a legal dispute<sup>4</sup> an application for office<sup>5</sup> use his influence to bring about<sup>6</sup> a compromise<sup>7</sup> vilifying or disparaging<sup>8</sup> may meddle with them<sup>9</sup> referees<sup>10</sup> misled<sup>11</sup> disgusted<sup>12</sup> in refusing<sup>13</sup> stating the case in  
aggragation<sup>14</sup> in claiming<sup>15</sup> a matter for thanks<sup>16</sup> i.e. of petition (as distinguished  
from suits of controversy)<sup>17</sup> to carry little weight<sup>18</sup> To this extent regard may be  
paid to the confidence shown by  
the first-comer in referring the  
matter for decision<sup>19</sup> the information is not to be  
used against him<sup>20</sup> in some manner<sup>21</sup> information  
of the object asked for



Secrecie in Sutes is a great Meane<sup>1</sup> of Obtaining; For voycing them to bee in Forwardnesse<sup>2</sup> may discourage  
 45 some Kinde of Sutours, But doth Quicken<sup>3</sup> and Awake Others. But Timing of the Sute is the Principall. Timing, I say, not onely in respect of the Person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to Crosse it. Let a Man, in the choice of his Meane<sup>4</sup>, rather choose the  
 50 Fittest Meane then the Greatest Meane; And rather them that deale in certaine Things then those that are Generall<sup>5</sup>. The Reparation of a Deniall is somtimes Equall to the first Grant<sup>6</sup>, If a Man shew himselfe neither dejected nor discontented. *Iniquum petas, ut Æquum feras*<sup>7</sup>, is a good  
 55 Rule, where a Man hath Strength of Favour<sup>8</sup>: But otherwise, a man were better rise in his Sute<sup>9</sup>; For he that would have ventured at first to have lost the Soutour, will not in the Conclusion lose both the Soutour and his owne former Favour. Nothing is thought so Easie a Request,  
 60 to a great Person, as his Letter<sup>10</sup>; And yet, if it be not in a Good Cause, it is so much out of his Reputation<sup>11</sup>. There are no worse Instruments then these Generall Contrivers of Sutes<sup>12</sup>; For they are but a Kinde of Poyson and Infection to Publique Proceedings.

## L

undoubtedly full of faith  
 possible under no practical conclusion

## OF STUDIES

Mr. P.

STUDIES serve for Delight, for Ornament, and for  
 • Ability<sup>13</sup>. Their Chiefe Use for Delight is in Privatnesse

<sup>1</sup> means

<sup>2</sup> announcing that they are going on favourably

<sup>3</sup> stimulate

<sup>4</sup> patron, agent

<sup>5</sup> the expert who meddles with only a few matters rather than the agent who undertakes all

<sup>6</sup> To succeed in one's suit after failing in the first application is as good as obtaining suit at the outset

<sup>7</sup> Ask for more than is fair so that you may get what is fair

<sup>8</sup> has influence with the patron

<sup>9</sup> a man would do better to increase his demands as he goes on

<sup>10</sup> testimonial

<sup>11</sup> his reputation will suffer

<sup>12</sup> these patrons who give an indiscriminate support to applications

<sup>13</sup> to make men able

and Retiring<sup>1</sup>; For Ornament, is in Discourse; And for Ability, is in the Iudgement and Disposition<sup>2</sup> of Businesse. For Expert Men<sup>3</sup> can Execute, and perhaps Iudge of particulars, one by one; But the generall Counsels, and the Plots<sup>4</sup> and Marshalling of Affaires, come best from those that are Learned. To spend too much Time in Studies is Sloth; To use them too much for Ornament is Affectation<sup>5</sup>; To make Iudgement wholly by their Rules is the Humour<sup>6</sup> of a Scholler. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by Experience: For Naturall Abilities are like Naturall Plants, that need Proyning<sup>7</sup> by Study: And Studies themselves doe give forth Directions too much at Large<sup>8</sup>, except they be bounded in<sup>9</sup> by experience. Crafty Men<sup>10</sup> Contemne Studies; Simple Men Admire them<sup>11</sup>; And Wise Men Use<sup>12</sup> them. For they teach not their owne Use; But that is a Wisdome without them<sup>13</sup> and above them, won by Observation. Reade not to Contradict and Confute; Nor to Beleeve and Take for granted; Nor to Finde Talke and Discourse; But to weigh and Consider. (Some Bookes are to be Tasted, Others to be Swallowed, and Some Few to be Chewed and Digested;) That is, some Bookes are to be read onely in Parts; Others to be read but not Curiously<sup>14</sup>; And some Few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention. Some Bookes also may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by Others: But that would<sup>15</sup> be onely in the lesse important Arguments<sup>16</sup>, and the Meaner Sort of Bookes: else distilled Bookes are like Common distilled Waters, so Flashy<sup>17</sup> Things. Reading maketh a Full Man; Conference<sup>18</sup> a Ready Man; And Writing<sup>19</sup> an Exact Man. And therefore, If a Man Write little, he had need have a Great

<sup>1</sup> privacy and retirement<sup>2</sup> management<sup>3</sup> men of experience<sup>4</sup> planning<sup>5</sup> pedantry<sup>6</sup> eccentricity<sup>7</sup> pruning, cultivating<sup>8</sup> too vague<sup>9</sup> checked<sup>10</sup> Men of practical ability<sup>11</sup> regard them with wonder<sup>12</sup> apply<sup>13</sup> outside of them<sup>14</sup> carefully<sup>15</sup> should<sup>16</sup> subjects<sup>17</sup> insipid<sup>18</sup> conversation<sup>19</sup> i.e. taking notes

memory; If he Conferre<sup>1</sup> little, he had need have a  
 35 Present<sup>2</sup> Wit; And if he Reade litle, he had need have  
 much Cunning<sup>3</sup>, to seeme to know that<sup>4</sup> he doth not;  
 Histories make Men Wise; Poets Witty<sup>5</sup>; The Mathe-  
 maticks Subtill; Naturall Philosophy deepe; Morall Grave<sup>6</sup>;  
 Logick and Rhetorick Able to Contend. (*Abeunt studia in*  
 40 *Mores*<sup>7</sup>.) Nay, there is no Stönd<sup>8</sup> or Impediment in the  
 Wit<sup>9</sup> but may be wrought out<sup>10</sup> by Fit Studies; Like as  
 Diseases of the Body may have Appropriate Exercises.  
 Bowling<sup>11</sup> is good for the Stone and Reines; Shooting<sup>12</sup> for  
 the Lungs and Breast; Gentle Walking for the Stomacke;  
 45 Ridng for the Head; And the like. So if a Man's Wit  
 be Wandring, let him Study the Mathematicks; For in  
 Demonstrations, if his Wit be called away never so little,  
 he must begin again: If his Wit be not Apt to distinguish  
 or find differences, let him Study the Schoole-men; For  
 50 they are *Cymini sectores*<sup>13</sup>. If he be not Apt to beat over  
 Matters<sup>14</sup>, and to call up one Thing to Prove and Illustrate  
 another, let him Study the Lawyers' Cases: So every Defect  
 of the Minde may have a Speciall Receipt<sup>15</sup>.

(*Classed 11*)

# LI

## OF FACTION

MANY have an Opinion not wise, That for a Prince to  
 Governe his Estate<sup>16</sup>, Or for a Great Person to governe his  
 Proceedings, according to the Respect of Factions<sup>17</sup>, is a  
 Principall Part of Policy: whereas contrariwise, the Chiefest  
 5 Wisdome is, either in Ordering<sup>18</sup> those Things, which are

- <sup>1</sup> converse
- <sup>2</sup> ready
- <sup>3</sup> ingenuity
- <sup>4</sup> that which
- <sup>5</sup> imaginative
- <sup>6</sup> moral philosophy serious
- <sup>7</sup> One's studies pass into one's character.
- <sup>8</sup> obstacle
- <sup>9</sup> mind
- <sup>10</sup> worked out, removed

- <sup>11</sup> playing bowls
- <sup>12</sup> archery
- <sup>13</sup> hair-splitters (*lit.* carvers of cummin seeds)
- <sup>14</sup> ready in passing from one subject to another
- <sup>15</sup> prescription for its remedy
- <sup>16</sup> state
- <sup>17</sup> with a view to the interests of particular parties
- <sup>18</sup> in regulating

Generall<sup>1</sup>, and wherein Men of Severall<sup>2</sup> Factions doe nevertheless agree<sup>3</sup>; Or in dealing with Correspondence to Particular Persons, one by one<sup>4</sup>. But I say not that the consideration of Factions is to be Neglected. Meane Men, in their Rising, must adhere<sup>5</sup>; But Great Men, that have 10 Strength in themselves, were better to maintaine themselves Indifferent<sup>6</sup> and Neutrall. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately as hee bee a Man of the one Faction, which is most Passable with the other, commonly giveth best Way<sup>7</sup>. The Lower and Weaker Faction is the firmer in 15 Coniunction<sup>8</sup>: And it is often seene that a few, that are Stiffe<sup>9</sup>, doe tire out a greater Number, that are more Moderate. When One of the Factions is Extinguished, the Remaining Subdivideth: As the Faction betweene Lucullus and the Rest of the Nobles of the Senate (which 20 they called *Optimates*) held out a while against the Faction of Pompey and Cæsar: But when the Senate's Authority was pulled Downe, Cæsar and Pompey soone after brake. The Faction or Partie of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time: 25 But when Brutus and Cassius were overthrowne, then soone after Antonius and Octavianus brake and Subdivided. These Examples are of Warres, but the same holdeth in Private Factions. And therefore, those that are Seconds<sup>10</sup> in Factions doe many times, when the Faction Subdivideth, 30 prove Principals: But many times also they prove Ciphars and Casheer'd<sup>11</sup>: For many a Man's Strength is in opposition; And when that faileth<sup>12</sup>, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seene that Men once Placed<sup>13</sup> take in with<sup>14</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> which concern everybody

<sup>2</sup> different

<sup>3</sup> i.e. agree in spite of their belonging to different parties

<sup>4</sup> in dealing with particular persons in a manner which is suitable to each case

<sup>5</sup> Men of low station must attach themselves to a party while they are rising

<sup>6</sup> impartial

<sup>7</sup> For a novice to be so tempe-

rate an adherent on his party that he is on an excellent footing with the other side opens up the road to promotion most effectually.

<sup>8</sup> holds together best

<sup>9</sup> pertinacious

<sup>10</sup> occupy a subordinate position

<sup>11</sup> are got rid of

<sup>12</sup> ceases

<sup>13</sup> once appointed to office

<sup>14</sup> take up with, go over to

35 Contrary Faction to that by which they enter; Thinking  
belike<sup>1</sup> that they have the First Sure, And now are Readie  
for a New Purchase<sup>2</sup>. The Traitour in Faction lightly  
goeth away with it<sup>3</sup>; For when Matters have stucke long  
in Ballancing, the Winning<sup>4</sup> of some one Man casteth  
40 them<sup>5</sup>, and he getteth all the Thankes. The Even Car-  
riage<sup>6</sup> betweene two Factions proceedeth not alwaies of<sup>7</sup>  
Moderation, but of a Truenesse to a Man's Selfe<sup>8</sup>, with  
End to make use of both<sup>9</sup>. Certainly in Italy, they hold  
it a little suspect<sup>10</sup> in Popes, when they have often in their  
45 Mouth, *Padre commune*<sup>11</sup>; And take it to be a Signe of one  
that meaneth to referre all to the Greatnesse of his owne  
House. Kings had need beware how they Side themselves<sup>12</sup>  
and make themselves as of a Faction or Partie: For  
Leagues within the State are ever Pernicious to Monarchies;  
50 For they raise an Obligation, Paramount<sup>13</sup> to Obligation of  
Soveraigntie, and make the King *Tanquàm unus ex nobis*<sup>14</sup>:  
As was to be seene in the League of France. When Fac-  
tions are carried too high and too violently, it is a Signe  
of Weaknesse in Princes, And much to the Preiudice both  
55 of their Authoritie and Businesse. The Motions of Factions,  
under Kings, ought to be like the Motions (as the Astro-  
nomers speake) of the Inferiour Orbs, which may have their  
Proper<sup>15</sup> Motions, but yet still<sup>16</sup> are quietly carried by the  
Higher Motion of *Primum Mobile*.

<sup>1</sup> probably<sup>2</sup> acquisition<sup>3</sup> generally comes off the gainer<sup>4</sup> the gaining over<sup>5</sup> turns the scale<sup>6</sup> Neutrality<sup>7</sup> from<sup>8</sup> from selfishness<sup>9</sup> with the object of turning both

to account

<sup>10</sup> suspicious<sup>11</sup> Common Father<sup>12</sup> take sides<sup>13</sup> superior<sup>14</sup> as though he were one of us<sup>15</sup> own<sup>16</sup> always

LII

OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS<sup>1</sup>

HE that is only Reall<sup>2</sup> had need have Exceeding great Parts of Vertue; As the Stone had need to be Rich, that is set without Foile<sup>3</sup>. But if a Man marke it well, it is in praise and Commendation of Men as it is in Gettings and Gaines: For the Proverbe is true, *That light Gaines make heavy Purses*; For light Gaines come thick, whereas Great come but now and then. So it is true that Small Matters win great Commendation, because they are continually in Use and in note<sup>4</sup>: whereas the Occasion of any great Vertue commeth but on Festivals<sup>5</sup>. Therefore it doth 10 much adde to a Man's Reputation, and is, (as Queene Isabella said) *Like perpetuall Letters Commendatory*<sup>6</sup> to have good Formes<sup>7</sup>. To Attaine them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them: For so shall a Man observe them in Others; And let him trust himselfe with the rest. For if 15 he Labour too much to Expresse them, he shall lose their Grace, Which is to be Naturall and Unaffected. Some Men's Behaviour is like a Verse, wherein every Syllable is Measured: How can a man comprehend<sup>8</sup> great Matters, that breaketh his Minde too much to small Observations<sup>9</sup>? 20 Not to use Ceremonies at all is to teach Others not to use them againe<sup>10</sup>; And so diminisheth Respect to himselfe: Especially they be not to be omitted to Strangers and Formall<sup>11</sup> Natures: But the Dwelling upon them, and Exalting them above the Moone, is not only Tedious, but 25 doth Diminish the Faith and Credit of him that speakes. And certainly, there is a Kinde of Conveying of Effectuall

<sup>1</sup> Good Manners

<sup>2</sup> absolutely unaffected

<sup>3</sup> without something to throw it

up

<sup>4</sup> come under people's notice

<sup>5</sup> i.e. somewhat rare

<sup>6</sup> of recommendation

<sup>7</sup> manners

<sup>8</sup> embrace

<sup>9</sup> too much his mind to submit to small observances

<sup>10</sup> too much in return

and Imprinting<sup>1</sup> Passages amongst Complements, which is of Singular use, if a Man can hit upon it. Amongst a  
 30 Man's Peeres, a Man shall be sure of Familiaritie; And therefore, it is good a little to keepe State<sup>2</sup>. Amongst a Man's Inferiours, one shall be sure of Reverence; And therefore it is good a little to be Familiar. He that is too much in any Thing, so that he giveth another Occasion of  
 35 Sacietie<sup>3</sup>, maketh himselfe cheape. To apply One's Selfe to others<sup>4</sup> is good; So it be with Demonstration that a Man doth it upon Regard, And not upon Facilitie<sup>5</sup>. It is a good Precept, generally in Seconding Another<sup>6</sup>, yet to adde somewhat<sup>7</sup> of One's Owne: As<sup>8</sup>, if you will grant his  
 40 Opinion, let it be with some Distinction; If you will follow his Motion<sup>9</sup>, let it bee with Condition; If you allow<sup>10</sup> his Counsell, let it be with Alledging further Reason. Men had need beware how they be too Perfect in Complements; For be they never so Sufficent otherwise<sup>11</sup>, their Envi-  
 45 will be sure to give them that Attribute<sup>12</sup>, to the Disadvantage of their greater Vertues. It is losse also in businesse to be too full of Respects<sup>13</sup>, or to be too Curious<sup>14</sup> in Observing Times and Opportunities. Salomon saith; *He that considereth the wind shall not Sow, and he that*  
 50 *looketh to the Clouds shall not reape.* A wise Man will make more Opportunities then he findes. Men's Behaviour should be like their Apparell, not too Strait<sup>15</sup> or point Device<sup>16</sup>, but Free for Exercise or Motion.

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<sup>1</sup> impressive

<sup>2</sup> to stand on one's dignity

<sup>3</sup> He who is always saying or doing the same thing, till he bores his neighbour with the monotony

<sup>4</sup> To humour others

<sup>5</sup> provided that a man makes it plain that he acts in this way from personal regard and not from mere affability

<sup>6</sup> in expressing one's concurrence with another

<sup>7</sup> to add something further

<sup>8</sup> for example

<sup>9</sup> act on his suggestion

<sup>10</sup> approve

<sup>11</sup> for no matter how capable they may be in other respects

<sup>12</sup> viz. of paying insincere compliments

<sup>13</sup> too elaborately polite

<sup>14</sup> particular

<sup>15</sup> confined

<sup>16</sup> exact

## LIII

## OF PRAISE

PRAISE is the Reflection of Vertue: But it is as<sup>1</sup> the Glasse or Bodie which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the Common People, it is commonly False and Naught<sup>2</sup>: And rather followeth Vaine<sup>3</sup> Persons then Vertuous: For the Common People understand not many Excellent 5 Vertues: The Lowest Vertues draw Praise from them; The middle Vertues worke in them Astonishment or Admiration<sup>4</sup>; But of the Highest Vertues, they have no Sense or Perceiving<sup>5</sup> at all. But Shewes<sup>6</sup> and *Species virtutibus similes*<sup>7</sup> serve best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a 10 River, that beareth up Things Light and Swolne, And Drownes Things waightly and Solide: But if persons of Qualitie<sup>8</sup> and Iudgement concurre, then it is, (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*<sup>9</sup>. It filleth all round about, and will not easily away<sup>10</sup>. For the 15 Odours of Oyntments are more Durable then those of Flowers. There be so many False Points of Praise<sup>11</sup>, that a Man may iustly hold it a Suspect<sup>12</sup>. Some Praises proceed meerely of<sup>13</sup> Flattery; And if hee be an Ordinary Flatterer, he will have certaine Common Attributes, which 20 may serve every Man<sup>14</sup>; If he be a Cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch-flatterer, which is a Man's selfe; and wherein a Man thinketh best of himselfe, therein the Flatterer will uphold him most: But if he be an Impudent Flatterer, look<sup>15</sup> wherin a Man is Conscious to himselfe that 25

<sup>1</sup> it varies according to<sup>2</sup> worthless<sup>3</sup> specious<sup>4</sup> wonder<sup>5</sup> perception<sup>6</sup> pretences<sup>7</sup> Appearances resembling virtues<sup>8</sup> rank<sup>9</sup> A good name is like sweet-

smelling ointment.

<sup>10</sup> go away<sup>11</sup> Praise is improperly bestowed in so many cases<sup>12</sup> justly regard it with suspicion<sup>13</sup> from<sup>14</sup> certain epithets which may be applied indiscriminately to everybody<sup>15</sup> observe



he is most Defective and is most out of Countenance in<sup>1</sup> himselfe, that will the Flatterer Entitle him to perforce<sup>2</sup>, *Spretâ Conscientiâ*<sup>3</sup>. Some Praises come of<sup>4</sup> good Wishes and Respects<sup>5</sup>, which is a Forme due in Civilitie to Kings and Great Persons, *Laudando præcipere*<sup>6</sup>; When by telling  
 30 Men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some Men are Praised Maliciously to their Hurt, therby to stirre Envie and Iealousie towards them; *Pessimum genus Inimicorum laudantium*<sup>7</sup>; In so much as<sup>8</sup>  
 35 it was a Proverb amongst the Grecians that, *He that was praised to his Hurt should*<sup>9</sup> *have a Push*<sup>10</sup> *rise upon his Nose*: As we say, *That a Blister will rise upon one's Tongue, that tells a lye*. Certainly Moderate Praise, used with Opportunity and not Vulgar<sup>11</sup>, is that which doth the Good.  
 40 Salomon saith, *He that praiseth his Friend aloud, Rising Early, it shall be to him no better then a Curse*. Too much Magnifying of Man or Matter doth irritate<sup>12</sup> Contradiction, and procure Envie and Scorne. To Praise a Man's selfe cannot be Decent, except it be in rare Cases: But to  
 45 Praise<sup>13</sup> a Man's Office or Profession, he may doe it with Good Grace and with a Kinde of Magnanimitie. The Cardinals of Rome, which<sup>14</sup> are Theologues<sup>15</sup> and Friars and Schoole-men, have a Phrase of Notable<sup>16</sup> Contempt and Scorne towards Civill Businesse<sup>17</sup>: For they call all Tem-  
 50 porall Businesse, of Warres, Embassages<sup>18</sup>, Iudicature, and other Emploiments, *Shirrerie*, which is, Under-Sheriffries, As if they were but matters for Under-Sheriffes and Catch-  
 poles<sup>19</sup>; Though, many times<sup>20</sup>, those Under-sherifferies doe more good then their High Speculations. St. Paul, when

<sup>1</sup> ashamed of  
 of <sup>2</sup> force him to take the credit

<sup>3</sup> scorning his consciousness (of short-comings)

<sup>4</sup> from

<sup>5</sup> marks of respect

<sup>6</sup> to give instruction by praising

<sup>7</sup> the worst sort of enemies—the men who praise

<sup>8</sup> that

<sup>9</sup> would

<sup>10</sup> pimple

<sup>11</sup> bestowed seasonably and with discrimination

<sup>12</sup> provoke

<sup>13</sup> but as regards praising

<sup>14</sup> who

<sup>15</sup> theologians

<sup>16</sup> remarkable

<sup>17</sup> lay matters

<sup>18</sup> embassies

<sup>19</sup> bailiffs

<sup>20</sup> often

he boasts of himselfe, he doth oft enterlace, *I speake like 55*  
*a Foole* ; But speaking of his Calling, he saith, *Magnificabo*  
*Apostolatium meum*<sup>1</sup>.

## LIV

## OF VAIN-GLORY

IT was prettily Devised of<sup>2</sup> Æsop, *The Fly sate upon*  
*the Axle-tree of the Chariot wheele, and said, What a Dust*  
*doe I raise!* So are there some Vaine Persons that, what-  
 soever goeth alone or moveth upon greater Means<sup>3</sup>, if they  
 have never so little Hand in it, they thinke it is they that 5  
 carry it<sup>4</sup>. They that are Glorious<sup>5</sup> must needs be Factious;  
 For all Bravery<sup>6</sup> stands upon Comparisons. They must  
 needs be Violent, to make good their owne Vaunts.  
 Neither can they be Secret, and therefore not Effectual<sup>7</sup>;  
 but according to the French Proverb, *Beaucoup de Bruit, 10*  
*peu de Fruit*:—*Much Bruit*<sup>8</sup>, *little Fruit*. Yet certainly  
 there is Use of this Qualitie in Civill<sup>9</sup> Affaires: Where  
 there is an Opinion and Fame<sup>10</sup> to be created, either of  
 Vertue or Greatnesse, these Men are good Trumpetters.  
 Again, as Titus Livius noteth, in the Case of Antiochus and 15  
 the Ætolians, *There are sometimes great Effects of Crosse*  
*Lies*<sup>11</sup>; As, if a Man that Negotiates between Two Princes,  
 to draw them to ioyne in a Warre against the Third, doth  
 extoll the Forces of either<sup>12</sup> of them above Measure, the  
 One to the Other: And sometimes, he that deales between 20  
 Man and Man raiseth his owne Credit with Both, by pre-  
 tending greater Interest<sup>13</sup> then he hath in Either. And in  
 these and the like Kindes, it often falls out that Somewhat<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I will magnify my apostleship.  
<sup>2</sup> by  
<sup>3</sup> when anything is set in motion  
 by itself or by agents more power-  
 ful (than the boasters)  
<sup>4</sup> effect  
<sup>5</sup> boastful  
<sup>6</sup> boasting  
<sup>7</sup> and therefore they cannot be

effectual  
<sup>8</sup> noise  
<sup>9</sup> political  
<sup>10</sup> reputation  
<sup>11</sup> contradictory lies told to each  
 party  
<sup>12</sup> each  
<sup>13</sup> influence  
<sup>14</sup> something

is produced of<sup>1</sup> Nothing; For Lies are sufficient to breed  
 25 Opinion, and Opinion brings on Substance<sup>2</sup>. In Militar  
 Commanders and Soldiers, Vaine-Glory is an Essentiall  
 Point; For as Iron sharpens Iron, so by Glory<sup>3</sup> one  
 Courage sharpneth another. In Cases of great Enterprise,  
 upon Charge and Adventure<sup>4</sup>, a Composition<sup>5</sup> of Glorious<sup>6</sup>  
 30 Natures doth put Life into Businesse; And those that are  
 of Solide and Sober Natures have more of the Ballast then  
 of the Saile. In Fame of Learning, the Flight will be slow  
 without some Feathers of Ostentation. *Qui de contemnendâ  
 Gloria Libros scribunt, Nomen suum inscribunt*<sup>7</sup>. Socrates,  
 35 Aristotle, Galen, were Men full of Ostentation. Certainly  
 Vaine-Glory helpeth to Perpetuate a Man's Memory; And  
 Vertue was never so Beholding to Humane Nature as it  
 received his due at the Second Hand<sup>8</sup>. Neither had the  
 Fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her Age<sup>9</sup>  
 40 so well, if it had not been ioyned with some Vanity in  
 themselves: Like unto Varnish, that makes Seelings<sup>10</sup> not  
 onely Shine, but Last. But all this while, when I speake of  
 Vaine-Glory, I meane not of<sup>11</sup> that Property that Tacitus  
 doth attribute to Mucianus,—*Omnium, quæ dixerat fecerat-  
 45 que, Arte quadam Ostentator*<sup>12</sup>: For that proceeds not of<sup>1</sup>  
 Vanity, but of<sup>1</sup> Naturall Magnanimity, and discretion;  
 And in some Persons, is not onely Comely, but Gracious<sup>13</sup>.  
 For Excusations, Cessions<sup>14</sup>, Modesty itselfe well Governed<sup>15</sup>,  
 are but Arts of Ostentation. And amongst those Arts there  
 50 is none better then that which Plinius Secundus speaketh  
 of, which is to be Liberall of Praise and Commendation to  
 others, in that wherein a Man's Selfe hath any Perfection.

<sup>1</sup> from<sup>2</sup> results in something substantial<sup>3</sup> boasting<sup>4</sup> involving expense and risk<sup>5</sup> combination<sup>6</sup> boastful<sup>7</sup> People who write books on the duty of despising glory put their own name on the title-page.<sup>8</sup> Virtue has never been under obligation to mankind to such an extent as this, that she received

from them at second-hand that tribute of glory which belongs to her in her own right.

<sup>9</sup> lasted out<sup>10</sup> wainscottings<sup>11</sup> I am not referring to<sup>12</sup> All that he had said or done he showed off with peculiar art<sup>13</sup> not only becoming but even graceful<sup>14</sup> excuses, concessions<sup>15</sup> if kept from going too far

For saith Pliny very Wittily, *In commending Another, you doe your selfe right; For he that you Commend, is either Superiour to you in that<sup>1</sup> you Commend, or Inferiour. If he<sup>5</sup> be Inferiour, if he be to be Commended, you much more: If he be Superiour, if he be not to be commended, you much lesse.* Glorious Men<sup>2</sup> are the Scorene of Wise Men; the Admiration of Fooles<sup>3</sup>; the Idols of Parasites; And the Slaves of their own Vaunts. 60

## LV

## OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION

THE Winning of Honour is but the Revealing of a Man's Vertue and Worth without Disadvantage<sup>4</sup>. For some in their Actions doe Wooe and affect<sup>5</sup> Honour and Reputation; Which Sort of Men are commonly much Talked of, but inwardly little Admired. And some, con- 5 trariwise, darken their Vertue in the Shew of it<sup>6</sup>; So as they be under-valued in opinion<sup>7</sup>. If a Man performe that which hath not beene attempted before, Or attempted and given over<sup>8</sup>, Or hath beene atchieved, but not with so good Circumstance<sup>9</sup>, he shall purchase<sup>10</sup> more Honour then by 10 Effecting a Matter of greater Difficulty or Vertue, wherein he is but a Follower. If a Man so temper<sup>11</sup> his Actions as<sup>12</sup> in some one of them hee doth content everie Faction. or Combination of People, the Musicke<sup>13</sup> will bee the fuller. A man is an ill Husband<sup>14</sup> of his Honour, that entreth into 15 any Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more then the Carying of it through can Honor him. Honour

<sup>1</sup> that which<sup>2</sup> Boasters<sup>3</sup> objects of wonder to fools<sup>4</sup> without inaccuracy<sup>5</sup> aim at<sup>6</sup> partially obscure their virtue when they display it<sup>7</sup> so that their reputation is less than they deserve<sup>8</sup> given up<sup>9</sup> not with such successful adjuncts<sup>10</sup> acquire<sup>11</sup> blend<sup>12</sup> that<sup>13</sup> i.e. the chorus of praise<sup>14</sup> a poor economist, a bad manager

that is gained and broken upon Another<sup>1</sup> hath the quickest<sup>2</sup> Reflection; Like Diamonds cut with Fascets. And therefore, let a Man contend to excell any Competitors of his in Honour, in Out-shooting them, if he can, in their owne Bowe. Discreet Followers and Servants helpe much to Reputation: *Omnis Fama à Domesticis emanat*<sup>3</sup>. Envy, which is the Canker of Honour, is best extinguished by declaring a Man's Selve, in his Ends<sup>4</sup>, rather to seeke Merit then Fame: And by Attributing a Man's Successes rather to divine Providence and Felicity<sup>5</sup> then to his owne Vertue or Policy. The true Marshalling of the Degrees of Sovereigne Honour are these<sup>6</sup>. In the First Place are *Conditores Imperiorum*; *Founders of States* and *Common-Wealths*; Such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael. In the Second Place are *Legis-latores*, *Lawgivers*; which are also called, *Second Founders*, or *Perpetui Principes*<sup>7</sup>, because they Governe by their Ordinances after they are gone: Such were Lycurgus, Solon, Iustinian, Eadgar, Alphonsus of Castile the Wise, that made the *Siete Partidas*<sup>8</sup>. In the Third Place are *Liberatores*, or *Salvatores*<sup>9</sup>; Such as compound<sup>10</sup> the long Miseries of Civill Warres, or deliver their Countries from Servitude of Strangers, or Tyrants; As Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, K. Henry the VII. of England, K. Henry the IV. of France. In the Fourth Place are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores Imperij*<sup>11</sup>; Such as in Honourable Warres enlarge their Territories, or make Noble defence against Invaders. And in the Last Place are *Patres Patriæ*<sup>12</sup>, which reigne iustly and make the Times good wherein they live. Both which last Kindes need no Examples, they are in such Number. Degrees of Honour in Subiects are, First, *Participes Curarum*<sup>13</sup>, Those upon whom Princes doe discharge the greatest

<sup>1</sup> gained by collision with others<sup>2</sup> most vivid<sup>3</sup> All one's reputation emanates from one's household.<sup>4</sup> by making it clear that a man's object is<sup>5</sup> good luck<sup>6</sup> The degrees of honour in sovereigns may be arranged in

order of importance as follows.

<sup>7</sup> Perpetual Rulers<sup>8</sup> The Seven Parts<sup>9</sup> Liberators or Preservers<sup>10</sup> settle<sup>11</sup> Extenders or Defenders of the Empire<sup>12</sup> Fathers of their Country<sup>13</sup> Partners in cares

Weight<sup>1</sup> of their Affaires; Their *Right Hands*, as we call 50  
 them. The Next are *Duces Belli*<sup>2</sup>, *Great Leaders*; Such  
 as are Princes' Lieutenants<sup>3</sup> and doe them Notable Services  
 in the Warres. The Third are *Gratiosi*; *Favourites*; Such  
 as exceed not this Scantling<sup>4</sup>, To be Solace to the Sove-  
 raigne and Harmeslesse to the People. And the Fourth, 55  
*Negotijs pares*<sup>5</sup>; Such as have great Places under Princes,  
 and execute their Places with Sufficiency<sup>6</sup>. There is an  
 Honour likewise which may be ranked amongst the Greatest,  
 which happeneth rarely; That is, of such as Sacrifice them-  
 selves to Death or Danger, for the Good of their Countrey; 60  
 As was M. Regulus, and the Two Decij.

## LVI

### OF IUDICATURE

IUDGES ought to remember that their Office is *Ius dicere*,  
 and not *Ius dare*; To Interpret Law, and not to *Make Law*  
 or *Give Law*: Else will it be like the Authority claimed  
 by the Church of Rome, which, under pretext of Exposition  
 of Scripture, doth not sticke<sup>7</sup> to Adde and Alter, And to 5  
 Pronounce<sup>8</sup> that which they doe not Finde, And by Shew  
 of<sup>9</sup> Antiquitie to introduce Noveltie. Iudges ought to be  
 more Learned then Wittie<sup>10</sup>; More Reverend then Plau-  
 sible<sup>11</sup>; And more Advised<sup>12</sup> then Confident. Above all  
 Things, Integrity is their Portion and Proper<sup>13</sup> Vertue. 10  
*Cursed* (saith the Law) *is hee that removeth the Land-marke*.  
 The Mislaiier of a Meere Stone<sup>14</sup> is to blame. But it is the  
 Uniust Iudge that is the Capitall<sup>15</sup> Remover of Land-markes,  
 when he Defineth amisse of Lands and Propertie. One

<sup>1</sup> shift the chief burden

<sup>2</sup> Leaders in War

<sup>3</sup> deputies

<sup>4</sup> limit

<sup>5</sup> Men equal to the demands of  
 their business

<sup>6</sup> ability

<sup>7</sup> hesitate

<sup>8</sup> to solemnly proclaim

<sup>9</sup> under the guise of

<sup>10</sup> ingenious

<sup>11</sup> courting respect rather than  
 applause

<sup>12</sup> deliberate

<sup>13</sup> peculiar

<sup>14</sup> boundary-stone

<sup>15</sup> chief

- 15 Foule Sentence doth more Hurt then many Foule Examples. For these doe but Corrupt the Streame; The other Corrupteth the Fountaine. So saith Salomon; *Fons turbatus, et Vena corrupta, est Iustus cadens in causâ suâ coram Adversario*<sup>1</sup>. The Office of Iudges may have Reference  
 20 Unto the Parties that sue; Unto the Advocates that Plead; Unto the Clerkes and Ministers of Iustice underneath them; And to the Sovereigne or State above them.

- First, for<sup>2</sup> the Causes or Parties that Sue. *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turne Iudgement into Worme-wood*; And surely there be also that turne it into Vinegar; For Iniustice maketh it Bitter, and Delaies make it Soure. The Principall Dutie of a Iudge is to suppress Force and Fraud; whereof Force is the more Pernicious, when it is Open, And Fraud, when it is Close<sup>3</sup> and Disguised. Adde thereto  
 30 Contentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out<sup>4</sup>, as the Surfet<sup>5</sup> of Courts. A Iudge ought to prepare his Way to a Iust Sentence, as God useth<sup>6</sup> to prepare his Way, by *Raising Valleys* and *Taking downe Hills*: So when there appeareth on either side<sup>7</sup> an High Hand, Violent Prosecution, Cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power,  
 35 Great Counsell<sup>8</sup>, then is the Vertue of a Iudge seene, to make<sup>9</sup> Inequalitie Equall, That he may plant his Iudgement, as upon an Even Ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem*<sup>10</sup>; And where the Wine-Press is hard wrought<sup>11</sup>, it  
 40 yeelds a harsh Wine that tastes of the Grape-stone. Iudges must beware of Hard Constructions and Strained Inferences; For there is no Worse Torture then the Torture of Lawes. Specially in case of Lawes Penall, they ought to have Care that that which was meant for Terroure<sup>12</sup> be not  
 45 turned into Rigour, And that they bring not upon the People that Shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet*

<sup>1</sup> A righteous man falling down before the wicked is as a troubled fountain and a corrupt spring.

<sup>2</sup> as regards

<sup>3</sup> secret

<sup>4</sup> rejected

<sup>5</sup> loathsome obstruction

<sup>6</sup> is wont

<sup>7</sup> on one side only

<sup>8</sup> forensic skill

<sup>9</sup> in making

<sup>10</sup> The wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood

<sup>11</sup> pressed

<sup>12</sup> a means of deterring

*super eos Laqueos*<sup>1</sup>: For Penall Lawes Pressed are a *Shower of Snares* upon the People. Therefore, let Penall Lawes, if they have beene Sleepers of<sup>2</sup> long, or if they be growne unfit for the present Time, be by Wise Iudges confined<sup>3</sup> 50 in the Execution;

*Iudicis Officium est, ut Res, ita Tempora Rerum*<sup>4</sup>, &c.

In Causes of Life and Death, Iudges ought (as farre as the Law permitteth) in Iustice to remember Mercy, And to Cast a Severe Eye upon the Example, but a Mercifull Eye 55 upon the Person.

Secondly, for<sup>5</sup> the Advocates and Counsell that Plead: Patience and Gravitie of Hearing is an Essentiall Part of Iustice; And an Over-speaking Iudge<sup>6</sup> is no *well tuned Cymball*. It is no Grace<sup>7</sup> to a Iudge first to finde that 60 which hee might have heard in due time from the Barre; or to shew Quicknesse of Conceit<sup>8</sup> in Cutting off Evidence or Counsell too short; Or to prevent<sup>9</sup> Information, by Questions though Pertinent. The Parts of a Iudge in Hearing are Foure:—To direct the Evidence<sup>10</sup>; To Mode- 65 rate Length, Repetition, or Impertinency<sup>11</sup> of Speech; To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate<sup>12</sup> the Materiall Points of that which hath beene said; And to Give the Rule or Sentence. Whatsoever is above these, is too much, And proceedeth, Either of Glory<sup>13</sup> and willingnesse<sup>14</sup> to Speake, 70 Or of Impatience to Heare, Or of Shortnesse of Memorie, Or of Want of a Staid and Equall<sup>15</sup> Attention. It is a Strange Thing to see that the Boldnesse of Advocates should prevaile with Iudges; Whereas they should imitate God, in whose Seat they sit, who *represseth the Presumptuous*, 75 and *giveth Grace to the Modest*. But it is more Strange that

<sup>1</sup> He shall rain snares upon them:

<sup>2</sup> for

<sup>3</sup> restricted

<sup>4</sup> 'Tis a judge's duty (to consider) not only the case but also the circumstances of the case.

<sup>5</sup> as regards

<sup>6</sup> a garrulous judge

<sup>7</sup> credit

<sup>8</sup> intelligence

<sup>9</sup> anticipate

<sup>10</sup> To rule what is admissible as evidence

<sup>11</sup> irrelevancy

<sup>12</sup> compare

<sup>13</sup> from vanity

<sup>14</sup> eagerness

<sup>15</sup> steady and equable



Iudges should have Noted Favourites; Which cannot but Cause Multiplication of Fees and Suspicion of By-waies<sup>1</sup>. There is due from the Iudge, to the Advocate, some Com-  
 80 mendation and Gracing<sup>2</sup>, where Causes are well Handled and faire<sup>3</sup> Pleaded; Especially towards the Side which obtaineth not<sup>4</sup>; For that upholds, in the Client, the Reputation of his Counsell, and beats downe, in him, the Conceit<sup>5</sup> of his Cause. There is likewise due to the Pub-  
 85 lique a Civill Reprehension<sup>6</sup> of Advocates, where there appeareth Cunning Counsel, Grosse Neglect, Slight Information, Indiscreet Pressing, or an Over-bold Defence. And let not the Counsell at the Barre chop<sup>7</sup> with the Iudge, nor winde himselfe into the handling of the Cause  
 90 anew, after the Iudge hath Declared his Sentence: But on the other side, Let not the Iudge meet the Cause halfe Way; Nor give Occasion to the Partie to say, *His Counsell or Proofes were not heard.*

Thirdly, for<sup>8</sup> that that concernes Clerks and Ministers<sup>9</sup>.  
 95 The Place of Iustice is an Hallowed Place; And therefore, not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace<sup>10</sup> and Precincts and Purprise<sup>11</sup> thereof, ought to be preserved without Scandall and Corruption. For certainly, *Grapes*, (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of Thornes or Thistles*; Neither  
 100 can Iustice yeeld her Fruit with Sweetnesse amongst the Briars and Brambles of Catching and Poling<sup>12</sup> Clerkes and Ministers. The Attendance of Courts is subiect to Foure bad Instruments. First, Certaine Persons that are Sowers of Suits; which make the Court swell, and the Country  
 110 pine. The Second Sort is of those that ingage Courts in Quarells of Iurisdiction, and are not truly *Amici Curie*<sup>13</sup>, but *Parasiti Curie*<sup>14</sup>, in puffing a Court up beyond her Bounds, for their owne Scraps<sup>15</sup> and Advantage. The Third Sort is of those that may be accounted the Left

<sup>1</sup> crooked courses  
<sup>2</sup> compliment  
<sup>3</sup> well  
<sup>4</sup> does not win  
<sup>5</sup> good opinion  
<sup>6</sup> a courteous rebuke  
<sup>7</sup> bandy words  
<sup>8</sup> as regards

<sup>9</sup> attendants  
<sup>10</sup> dais  
<sup>11</sup> enclosure  
<sup>12</sup> greedy and plundering  
<sup>13</sup> Friends of the Court  
<sup>14</sup> Parasites of the Court  
<sup>15</sup> pickings

Hands of Courts; Persons that are full of Nimble and 115  
 Sinister Trickes and Shifts, whereby they pervert the Plaine  
 and Direct Courses of Courts, and bring Iustice into  
 Oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the Fourth is the  
 Poler<sup>1</sup> and Exacter of Fees; which iustifies the Common  
 Resemblance of the Courts of Iustice to the Bush, where- 120  
 unto while the Sheepe flies for defence in Wether<sup>2</sup>, hee is  
 sure to loose Part of his Fleece. On the other side, an  
 Ancient Clerke<sup>3</sup>, skilfull in Presidents, Wary in Proceeding,  
 and Understanding in<sup>4</sup> the Businesse of the Court, is an  
 excellent Finger of a Court, And doth many times point 125  
 the way to the Iudge himselfe.

Fourthly, for<sup>5</sup> that which may concerne the Sovereigne  
 and Estate<sup>6</sup>. Iudges ought above all to remember the  
 Conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables,—*Salus Populi*  
*Suprema Lex*<sup>7</sup>; And to know that Lawes, except they bee 130  
 in Order to that End<sup>8</sup>, are but Things Captious and Oracles  
 not well Inspired. Therefore it is an Happie Thing in a  
 State, when Kings and States doe often Consult with Iudges;  
 And againe, when Iudges doe often Consult with the King  
 and State: The one, when there is Matter of Law inter- 135  
 venient<sup>9</sup> in Businesse of State; The other, when there is  
 some Consideration of State, intervenient in Matter of Law.  
 For many times<sup>10</sup>, the Things Deduced<sup>11</sup> to Iudgement may  
 bee *Meum* and *Tuum*<sup>12</sup>, when the Reason<sup>13</sup> and Consequence  
 thereof may Trench to Point of Estate<sup>14</sup>: I call Matter of 140  
 Estate not onely the parts of Sovereigntie, but whatsoever  
 introduceth any Great Alteration or Dangerous precedent,  
 Or Concerneth manifestly any great Portion of People.  
 And let no Man weakly conceive that Iust Laws and True  
 Policie have any Antipathie: For they are like the Spirits 145

<sup>1</sup> plunderer<sup>2</sup> in stormy weather<sup>3</sup> a senior clerk<sup>4</sup> with a knowledge of<sup>5</sup> as regards<sup>6</sup> state<sup>7</sup> The safety of the people is the  
supreme law<sup>8</sup> unless they are likely to pro-

mote that object

<sup>9</sup> involved<sup>10</sup> often<sup>11</sup> referred<sup>12</sup> *i.e.* questions of private pro-  
perty<sup>13</sup> principle<sup>14</sup> encroach upon some matter of  
state

and Sinewes<sup>1</sup>, that<sup>2</sup> One moves with the Other. Let Iudges also remember that Salomon's Throne was supported by Lions on both Sides; Let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the Throne; Being circumspect that they  
 150 do not checke or oppose any Points of Soveraigntie. Let not Iudges also be so Ignorant of their owne Right as to thinke there is not left to them, as a Principall Part of their Office, a Wise Use and application of Lawes. For they may remember what the Apostle saith of a Greater Law  
 155 then theirs; *Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modò quis eà utatur Legitime*<sup>3</sup>.

## LVII

## OF ANGER

To seeke to extinguish Anger utterly is but a Bravery<sup>4</sup> of the Stoickes. We have better Oracles: *Be Angry, but Sinne not. Let not the Sunne goe downe upon your Anger.* Anger must be limited and confined, both in Race and in  
 5 Time<sup>5</sup>. We will first speake, How the Naturall Inclination and Habit *To be Angry* may be attemptred<sup>6</sup>, and calmed. Secondly, How the Particular Motions of Anger may be repressed, or at least refrained<sup>7</sup> from doing Mischiefe. Thirdly, How to raise Anger, or appease Anger, in Another.  
 10 For<sup>8</sup> the first; There is no other Way but to Meditate and Ruminare well upon the Effects of Anger, how it troubles Man's Life. And the best Time to doe this is to looke backe upon Anger when the Fitt is throughly over. Seneca saith well, *That Anger is like Ruine*<sup>9</sup>, *which breakes*  
 15 *it Selfe upon that*<sup>10</sup> *it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us, *To possesse our Soules in Patience.* Whosoever is out of Patience

<sup>1</sup> the vital spirits and muscles<sup>2</sup> so that<sup>3</sup> We know that the law is good if a man use it lawfully.<sup>4</sup> an empty boast<sup>5</sup> in its scope and duration<sup>6</sup> moderated<sup>7</sup> restrained<sup>8</sup> As regards<sup>9</sup> a falling building<sup>10</sup> that on which

is out of Possession of his Soule. Men must not turne Bees,

—*Animasque in vulnere ponunt*<sup>1</sup>.

Anger is certainly a kinde of Basenesse ; As it appears 20 well in the Weaknesse of those Subiects in whom it reignes,— Children, Women, Old Folkes, Sicke Folkes. Onely Men must beware<sup>2</sup> that they carry their Anger rather with Scorne then with Feare ; So that they may seeme rather to be above the Iniury then below it : which is a Thing easily 25 done, if a Man will give Law to himselfe<sup>3</sup> in it.

For<sup>4</sup> the Second Point ; The Causes and Motives of Anger are chiefly three. First, to be too Sensible of Hurt<sup>5</sup> : For no Man is Angry that Feeles not himselfe Hurt : And therefore Tender and Delicate Persons must needs be oft 30 Angry ; They have so many Things to trouble them, Which more Robust Natures have little Sense of. The next is, the Apprehension and Construction of the Iniury offred to be, in the Circumstances thereof, full of Contempt<sup>6</sup>. For Contempt is that which putteth an Edge upon Anger, as much 35 or more then the Hurt it selfe. And therefore, when Men are Ingenious in picking out Circumstances of Contempt, they doe kindle their Anger much. Lastly, Opinion of the Touch of a Man's Reputation<sup>7</sup> doth multiply and sharpen Anger ; Wherein the Remedy is that a Man should have, as 40 Consalvo was wont to say, *Telam Honoris crassiores*<sup>8</sup>. But in all Refrainings of Anger<sup>9</sup>, it is the best Remedy to win Time, And to make a Man's Selfe beleieve that the Opportunity of his Revenge is not yet come, But that he foresees a Time for it ; And so to still Himselfe in the meane Time, 45 and reserve it.

To containe<sup>10</sup> Anger from Mischiefe, though it take hold of a Man, there be two Things whereof you must

<sup>1</sup> and leave their lives in the wound which they inflict

<sup>2</sup> be careful

<sup>3</sup> will control himself

<sup>4</sup> As regards

<sup>5</sup> over-sensitive

<sup>6</sup> readiness to detect an injury and to interpret it as an intentional

affront

<sup>7</sup> the notion that a man's reputation is being attacked

<sup>8</sup> a stouter web of honour

<sup>9</sup> in all cases where anger is to be checked

<sup>10</sup> restrain

have special Caution. The one, of extreme Bitternesse of  
 50 Words; Especially if they be Aculeate and Proper<sup>1</sup>; For  
*Communia Maledicta* are nothing so much<sup>2</sup>: And againe,  
 that in Anger a Man reveale no Secrets; For that makes  
 him not fit for Society. The other, that you doe not  
 peremptorily break off, in any Businesse, in a Fitt of Anger;  
 55 But howsoever you shew Bitternes, do not Act<sup>3</sup> any thing  
 that is not Revocable.

For<sup>4</sup> Raising and Appeasing Anger in Another; It is  
 done chiefly by Choosing of Times when Men are fro-  
 wardest<sup>5</sup> and worst disposed, to incense them. Againe, by  
 60 gathering (as was touched<sup>6</sup> before) all that you can finde  
 out, to aggravate the Contempt. And the two Remedies  
 are by the Contraries. The Former, to take good Times  
 when first to relate to a Man an Angry Businesse<sup>7</sup>: For the  
 first Impression is much; And the other is, to sever, as  
 65 much as may be, the Construction of the Iniury from the  
 Point of Contempt<sup>8</sup>: Imputing it to Misunderstanding,  
 Feare, Passion, or what you will.

## LVIII

## OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS

SALOMON saith, *There is no New Thing upon the Earth:*  
 So that, as Plato had an Imagination That all Knowledge  
 was but Remembrance, So Salomon giveth his Sentence<sup>9</sup>,  
*That all Noveltie is but Oblivion.* Whereby you may see  
 5 that the River of Lethe runneth as well above Ground as  
 below. There is an abstruse Astrologer that saith, *If it*  
*were not for two things that are Constant, (The one is, that*  
*the Fixed Starres ever stand at like distance, one from another,*  
*and never come nearer together, nor goe further asunder; The*

<sup>1</sup> pointed and personal  
<sup>2</sup> general abuse is of slight im-  
 portance

<sup>3</sup> do

<sup>4</sup> As regards

<sup>5</sup> most perverse

<sup>6</sup> mentioned

<sup>7</sup> a matter which might make  
 him angry

<sup>8</sup> to prevent him from interpret-  
 ing the injury as implying contempt  
 for himself

<sup>9</sup> judgment

other, that the Diurnall Motion perpetually keepeth Time,) 10  
*No Individuall would last one Moment.* Certain it is that  
the Matter<sup>1</sup> is in a Perpetuall Flux, and never at a Stay.  
The great Winding-sheets, that burie all Things in Oblivion,  
are two,—Deluges and Earth-quakes. As for Conflagrations  
and great Droughts, they doe not meerely dispeople<sup>2</sup> and 15  
destroy. Phaeton's Carre went but a day. And the Three  
yeares' Drought, in the time of Elias, was but Particular<sup>3</sup>,  
and left People Alive. As for the great Burnings by Light-  
nings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but  
narrow. But in the other two Destructions, by Deluge 20  
and Earth-quake, it is further to be noted that the Remnant  
of People, which hap to be reserved<sup>4</sup>, are commonly Igno-  
rant and Mountanous People, that can give no Account  
of the Time past; So that the Oblivion is all one<sup>5</sup>, as if  
none had beene left. If you consider well of the People of 25  
the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a Newer  
or a Younger People then the People of the Old World.  
And it is much more likely that the Destruction that  
hath heretofore been there was not by Earth-quakes, (As  
the Egyptian Priest told Solon, concerning the Island of 30  
Atlantis, *That it was swallowed by an Earth-quake,*) But  
rather that it was desolated by a Particular Deluge. For  
Earth-quakes are seldome in those Parts. But on the other  
side<sup>6</sup>, they have such Pouring Rivers, as<sup>7</sup> the Rivers of  
Asia and Affrick and Europe are but Brookes to them. 35  
Their Andes likewise, or Mountaines, are farre higher then  
those with us; Whereby<sup>8</sup> it seemes that the Remnants of  
Generation of Men were, in such a Particular Deluge,  
saved. As for the Observation that Macciavel hath, that  
the Iealousie of Sects doth much extinguish the Memory of 40  
Things,—Traducing Gregory the Great, that he did<sup>9</sup> what  
in him lay to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities,—I doe  
not finde that those Zeales doe<sup>10</sup> any great Effects, nor last

<sup>1</sup> matter

<sup>2</sup> entirely depopulate

<sup>3</sup> partial

<sup>4</sup> happen to be left

<sup>5</sup> is just the same

<sup>6</sup> on the other hand

<sup>7</sup> that

<sup>8</sup> by which circumstance

<sup>9</sup> i.e. by falsely representing that  
he did

<sup>10</sup> zealous efforts produce

long: As it appeared in the Succession of Sabinian, who  
45 did revive the former Antiquities.

The Vicissitude or Mutations in the Superiour Globe<sup>1</sup>  
are no fit Matter for this present Argument. It may be,  
Plato's *Great Year*, if the World should last so long, would  
have some Effect; Not in renewing the State of like Indi-  
50 viduals<sup>2</sup> (for that is the Fume<sup>3</sup> of those that conceive the  
Celestiall Bodies have more accurate Influences<sup>4</sup> upon these  
Things below then indeed they have), but in grosse<sup>5</sup>.  
Comets, out of question, have likewise Power and Effect  
over the Grosse and Masse of Things: But they are rather  
55 gazed upon and waited upon<sup>6</sup> in their Journey then wisely  
observed in their Effects; Specially in their Respective  
Effects; That is, what Kinde of Comet for Magnitude,  
Colour, Version<sup>7</sup> of the Beames, Placing<sup>8</sup> in the Region of  
Heaven, or Lasting, produceth what Kinde of Effects.

60 There is a Toy<sup>9</sup> which I have heard, and I would not  
have it given over<sup>10</sup>, but waited upon<sup>11</sup> a little. They say it  
is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what Part)  
that Every Five and Thirtie years The same Kinde and  
Sute<sup>12</sup> of Years and Weathers comes about againe; As  
65 Great Frosts, Great Wet, Great Droughts, Warne Winters,  
Summers with little Heat, and the like: And they call it  
the *Prime*. It is a Thing I doe the rather mention, because,  
computing backwards, I have found some Concurrence.

But to leave these Points of Nature, and to come to  
70 Men. The greatest Vicissitude of Things amongst Men is  
the Vicissitude of Sects and Religions. For those Orbs<sup>13</sup>  
rule in Men's Minds most. The True Religion is *built*  
*upon the Rocke*; The Rest are tost upon the Waves of  
Time. To speake, therefore, of the Causes of New Sects,  
75 And to give some Counsell concerning them, As farre as

<sup>1</sup> in the heavens

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* not in restoring to life the  
people who flourished at the cor-  
responding time in the last cycle

<sup>3</sup> the idle fancy

<sup>4</sup> more influence in minute par-  
ticulars

<sup>5</sup> in its general results

<sup>6</sup> watched

<sup>7</sup> direction

<sup>8</sup> position

<sup>9</sup> trifle

<sup>10</sup> passed over

<sup>11</sup> observed

<sup>12</sup> sequence

<sup>13</sup> spheres

the Weaknesse of Humane Iudgement can give stay to<sup>1</sup> so great Revolutions.

When the Religion formerly received is rent by Discords; And when the Holinesse of the Professours of Religion is decayed and full of Scandall; And withall<sup>2</sup> the Times be 80 Stupid, Ignorant, and Barbarous; you may doubt<sup>3</sup> the Springing up of a New Sect, If then also there should arise any Extravagant and Strange Spirit, to make himselfe Authour thereof. All which Points held<sup>4</sup>, when Mahomet published his Law. If a New Sect have not two Properties, 85 feare it not; For it will not spread. The one is, the Supplanting, or the opposing, of Authority established; For Nothing is more Popular then that. The other is, the Giving Licence to Pleasures and a Voluptuous Life. For as for Speculative Heresies (such as were in Ancient Times 90 the Arrians, and now the Arminians) though they worke mightily upon Men's Wits<sup>5</sup>, yet they doe not produce any great Alterations in States, except it be by the Helpe of Civill Occasions<sup>6</sup>. There be three Manner of Plantations of<sup>7</sup> New Sects:—By the Power of Signes and Miracles; 95 By the Eloquence and Wisedome of Speech and Perswasion; And by the Sword. For<sup>8</sup> Martyrdomes, I reckon them amongst Miracles, Because they seeme to exceed the Strength of Human Nature; And I may doe the like of Superlative and Admirable Holinesse of Life. Surely, there 100 is no better Way to stop the Rising of New Sects and Schismes then To reforme Abuses; To compound<sup>9</sup> the smaller Differences; To proceed mildly, and not with Sanguinary Persecutions; And rather to take off the principall Authours by Winning and Advancing them then to enrage 105 them by Violence and Bitternesse.

The Changes and Vicissitude in Warres are many; But chiefly in three Things:—In the Seats or Stages<sup>10</sup> of the Warre; In the Weapons; And in the Manner of the Conduct. Warres in ancient Time seemed more to move from 110

<sup>1</sup> can check the progress of  
<sup>2</sup> besides this  
<sup>3</sup> suspect  
<sup>4</sup> All these conditions existed.  
<sup>5</sup> minds

<sup>6</sup> of political circumstances  
<sup>7</sup> three ways of establishing  
<sup>8</sup> As regards  
<sup>9</sup> settle  
<sup>10</sup> theatre



East to West; For the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the Invaders), were all Easterne People. It is true the Gaules were Western; But we reade but of two Incursions of theirs; The one to Gallo-  
 115 Grecia, the other to Rome. But East and West have no certaine Points of Heaven<sup>1</sup>; And no more have the Warres, either from the East or West, any Certainty of Observation<sup>2</sup>. But North and South are fixed: And it hath seldome or never been seene that the farre Southern People have  
 120 invaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest that the Northern Tract of the World is in Nature the more Martiall Region; Be it in respect of the Stars of that Hemisphere; Or of the great Continents that are upon the North, whereas the South Part, for ought that is  
 125 knowne, is almost all Sea; Or (which is most apparent<sup>3</sup>) of the Cold of the Northern Parts, which is that which, without Aid of Discipline, doth make the Bodies hardest and the Courages<sup>4</sup> warmest.

Upon the Breaking and Shivering of a great State and  
 130 Empire, you may be sure to have Warres. For great Empires, while they stand, doe enervate and destroy the Forces of the Natives which they have subdued, resting upon their owne Protecting Forces: And then, when they faile also, all goes to ruine, and they become a Prey. So  
 135 was it in the Decay of the Roman Empire; And likewise, in the Empire of Almaigne after Charles the Great, every Bird taking a Fether; And were not unlike to befall to<sup>5</sup> Spaine, if it should break. The great Accessions and Unions of Kingdomes doe likewise stirre up Warres. For  
 140 when a State growes to an Over-power<sup>6</sup>, it is like a great Floud that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seene in the States of Rome, Turkey, Spaine, and others. Looke when the World hath fewest Barbarous Peoples, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know  
 145 meanes to live, (As it is almost every where at this day, except Tartary), there is no Danger of Inundations of

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* are merely relative terms

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* any definite formula which explains their movement  
 obvious

<sup>4</sup> spirits

<sup>5</sup> would not improbably befall  
<sup>6</sup> to excessive power

People: But when there be great Shoales of People, which goe on<sup>1</sup> to populate without foreseeing<sup>2</sup> Meanes of Life and Sustentation<sup>3</sup>, it is of Necessity that, once in an Age or two, they discharge a Portion of their People upon other Nations: Which the ancient Northern People were wont to doe by Lot; Casting Lots, what Part should stay at home, and what should seeke their Fortunes. When a Warre-like State growes Soft and Effeminate, they may be sure of a Warre. For commonly such States are growne rich in the time of their Degenerating; And so the Prey inviteth, and their Decay in Valour encourageth a Warre. 150 155

As for the Weapons, it hardly falleth under Rule and Observation: yet we see even they have Returnes<sup>4</sup> and Vicissitudes. For certain it is that Ordnance was known in the Citty of the Oxidrakes in India, And was that which the Macedonians called Thunder and Lightning and Magicke. And it is well knowne that the use of Ordnance hath been in China above 2000 yeares. The Conditions of Weapons and their Improvement are,—First, The Fetching a farre off<sup>5</sup>: For that outruns the Danger<sup>6</sup>; As it is seene in Ordnance and Muskets. Secondly, the Strength of the Percussion<sup>7</sup>; wherin likewise Ordnance doe exceed all Arietations<sup>8</sup> and ancient Inventions. The third is, the commodious use of them<sup>9</sup>; As<sup>10</sup> that they may serve in all Wethers; That the Carriage may be Light and Manageable; and the like. 160 165 170

For<sup>11</sup> the Conduct of the Warre: At the first, Men rested<sup>12</sup> extremely upon Number: They did put the Warres likewise upon Maine Force<sup>13</sup> and Valour; Pointing<sup>14</sup> Dayes for Pitched Fields, and so trying it out upon an even Match<sup>15</sup>: And they were more ignorant in Ranging and 175

<sup>1</sup> continue

<sup>2</sup> providing

<sup>3</sup> sustenance

<sup>4</sup> periods

<sup>5</sup> carrying a long way

<sup>6</sup> forestalls the danger from the enemy

<sup>7</sup> the force of the impact

<sup>8</sup> assaults with the battering-ram

<sup>9</sup> their convenience for use

<sup>10</sup> as for instance

<sup>11</sup> As regards

<sup>12</sup> relied

<sup>13</sup> placed the issue of their wars on main-force

<sup>14</sup> appointing

<sup>15</sup> on equal terms

Arraying their Battailes<sup>1</sup>. After they grew to rest<sup>2</sup> upon Number rather Competent then Vast: They grew to Advantages<sup>3</sup> of Place, Cunning Diversions, and the like: And they grew more skilful in the Ordering<sup>4</sup> of their Battailes<sup>1</sup>.

In the Youth of a State, Armes doe flourish: In the Middle Age of a State, Learning; And then both of them together for a time: In the Declining Age of a State, 185 Mechanicall Arts and Merchandize. Learning hath his Infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost Childish: Then his Youth, when it is Luxuriant and Iuvenile: Then his Strength of yeares, when it is Solide and Reduced<sup>5</sup>: And lastly, his old Age, when it waxeth Dry and Exhaust<sup>6</sup>. 190 But it is not good to looke too long upon these turning Wheelles of Vicissitude, lest we become Giddy. As for the Philology of them<sup>7</sup>, that is but a Circle of Tales, and therefore not fit for this Writing.

## *A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY*

### OF FAME<sup>8</sup>

THE Poets make Fame<sup>8</sup> a Monster. They describe her, in Part, finely and elegantly; and, in part, gravely and sententiously<sup>9</sup>. They say, look how many Feathers she hath, so many Eyes she hath underneath; So many 5 Tongues; So many Voyces; She pricks up so many Ears.

This is a flourish<sup>10</sup>: There follow excellent Parables; As that, she gathereth strength in going; That she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That, in the day time, she sitteth in a Watch Tower, and flyeth, 10 most, by night: That she mingleth Things done with things not done: And that she is a Terroure to great Citties. But

<sup>1</sup> battalions

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards they came to rely

<sup>3</sup> they took advantage

<sup>4</sup> marshalling

<sup>5</sup> kept within limits

<sup>6</sup> exhausted

<sup>7</sup> the literature that has been written about them

<sup>8</sup> Rumour

<sup>9</sup> weightily and with pregnant meaning

<sup>10</sup> rhetorical embellishment

that which passeth<sup>1</sup> all the rest is, They do recount that the Earth, Mother of the Gyants that made War against Jupiter and were by him destroyed, thereupon, in an anger, brought forth Fame: For certain it is, That Rebels, figured by the 15 Gyants, and Seditious Fames, and Libels, are but Brothers and Sisters, Masculine and Feminine. But now, if a Man can tame this Monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowle<sup>2</sup>, and kill them, it is somewhat worth<sup>3</sup>. But we are infected with 20 the stile of the Poets. To speak now, in a sad<sup>4</sup> and serious manner; There is not, in all the Politiques<sup>5</sup>, a Place<sup>6</sup> lesse handled and more worthy to be handled then this of Fame. We will, therefore, speak of these points. What are false Fames; And what are true Fames; And how they may be 25 best discerned<sup>7</sup>; How Fames may be sown and raised; How they may be spread and multiplyed; And how they may be checked and layed dead; And other Things concerning the Nature of Fame.

Fame is of that force as<sup>8</sup> there is scarcely any great 30 Action wherein it hath not a great part; Especially in the War. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a Fame that he scattered<sup>9</sup>, That Vitellius had in purpose to remove the Legions of Syria into Germany, And the Legions of Germany into Syria: whereupon the Legions of Syria were infinitely 35 inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided<sup>10</sup>, and layed asleep his industry and preparations, by a Fame that he cunningly gave out, How Cæsar's own Souldiers loved him not, And, being wearied with the Wars and Laden with the spoyles of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he 40 came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the Succession of her Son Tiberius, by continuall giving out that her husband Augustus was upon Recovery and amendment. And it is an usuall thing with the Basshawes<sup>11</sup>, to conceale the Death of the Great Turk<sup>12</sup> from the Jannizaries and men 45

<sup>1</sup> surpasses<sup>2</sup> attack other birds of prey<sup>3</sup> it is of some use<sup>4</sup> sober<sup>5</sup> political treatises<sup>6</sup> a topic<sup>7</sup> distinguished<sup>8</sup> of such force that<sup>9</sup> by a report which he spread<sup>10</sup> unawares<sup>11</sup> pachas<sup>12</sup> the Sultan

of War<sup>1</sup>, to save the Sacking of Constantinople and other Towns, as their Manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, king of Persia, boast apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Græcians had a purpose to break his Bridge of  
50 Ships, which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be a thousand such like Examples; And the more they are, the lesse they need to be repeated; Because a Man meeteth with them every where. Therefore, let all Wise Governors have as great a watch and care over Fames, as they have of  
55 the Actions and Designes themselves.

*The rest was not Finished.*

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<sup>1</sup> soldiers

## NOTES.

\* \* The references are to the following editions :

Bacon, *History of Henry VII.* and *Apophthegms* in Bohn's Library,  
*Moral and Historical Works of Bacon*, 1 vol.

Shakespeare, Globe edition.

Macaulay, *Essays*, People's edition, 2 vols.

Plutarch, *Lives*, Langhorne's Translation, 1 vol.

### ESSAY I.

#### OF TRUTH.

P. 1, l. 1. In this Essay Bacon uses the word 'Truth' to signify two distinct things, viz.—

(1) correctness of thought, the correspondence between facts and our opinions about them :

(2) truthfulness, integrity of conduct, 'the truth of civil business,' l. 63.

*jesting Pilate.* See John xviii. 38. Pilate may have asked the question seriously, expecting an answer, or rhetorically, not expecting an answer. But he was certainly in no *jesting* mood at the time.

5. *sects*, the Sceptics, who denied the possibility of knowledge. Pyrrho of Elis (fl. B.C. 340—300) was regarded as the founder of this school of philosophy.

6. *wits*. The word *wit*, from the root of *witan*, 'to know,' signified (1) the knowing mind, the intellect, (2) what the mind knows, knowledge, (3) men of knowledge, ingenious writers. The first meaning was narrowed to indicate a particular faculty of the mind, viz. (4) Imagination, and hence (5) the perception of analogies, pleasing or quaint.

See Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, Introd. § 6, pp. 48-51 (Pitt Press Series).

12. *One of the later schoole*, Lucian, *Philopseudes*, § 1.

P. 2, l. 19. *masques, triumphs*. See note to *Ess.* 37, 1, p. 224.

*mummeries*. A mummer was one who played as a masked buffoon (from *mumme*, 'a mask'): *mummery* signified (1) 'a performance of mummers,' (2) 'a farcical show.'

20. *stately*, used as adverb: cf. *Ess.* 46, 6.

24. *of a lie*, i.e. of fiction or error. In this sense the word was often in Johnson's mouth. 'Johnson had accustomed himself to use the word *lie*, to express a mistake or an error in relation; in short, when the *thing was not so as told*, though the relator did not mean to deceive. When he thought there was intentional falsehood in the relator, his expression was, "He *lies*, and he *knows* he *lies*.'" Boswell, *Life*, p. 545 (Globe edit.).

30. *One of the Fathers*. Jerome speaks of poetry as *daemonum cibus* (*Epist.* 146), and Augustine calls it *vinum erroris* (*Confessions*, I. 16). Bacon seems to have blended the two expressions.

Those writers of the early Church whose teaching was accepted as authoritative are called the Fathers. Six, whose lives were in any part contemporary with those of the Apostles, are described as the Apostolic Fathers. In some lists St Bernard of France (A.D. 1091-1153) is called 'the last of the Fathers.'

37. *which only doth judge itself*. Human reason is the means by which we discover truth, and from the truth thus discovered there is no appeal to any other standard.

41. *humane* was not distinguished originally by its form from *human*: cf. *Ess.* 3, 1, 113; 5, 17; 12, 11; 39, 57; 46, 2. The word is used in its modern sense in *Ess.* 10, 59.

43. *Sabbath worke*, i.e. the occupation of God's leisure since He finished the work of creation. *Sabbath* is derived ultimately from a Hebrew word signifying 'rest from labour.'

48. *The poet*, Lucretius; *the sect*, the Epicureans, whom Bacon may regard as 'inferior to the rest' on the ground either of their moral teaching, or of their literary deficiency. See INDEX, *Epicurus*.

The passage contained in ll. 50-57, is a paraphrase rather than a translation of Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, II. 1-10.

P. 6, ll. 59-61. *move...truth*. The metaphors are astronomical. As the heavens are carried round by *Primum Mobile* (see *Ess.* 15, 56) so should a man's heart be swayed by Love. As the heavens are sustained

in Space, so should a man's heart rest in Providence. As the heavens revolve upon the Poles, so should a man's heart be guided without deviation from the Truth.

64. *round*, used metaphorically, suggests completeness, thoroughness, finish; *straight*, used metaphorically, suggests directness. Hence the meaning is pretty much the same whether we say 'I told him so *roundly*,' or 'I told him so *straight*.'

66. *allay*, i.e. 'alloy,' from Lat. *alligare*, 'to bind up;' the meaning of the word was influenced by the erroneous etymology, Fr. *à loi*, 'to law,' the proportion of base metal allowed by law.

72. *Mountaigny saith*. The remark is not Montaigne's, but is quoted by him (*Ess.* II. 18) as the saying of 'un ancien.' The 'ancien' is Plutarch (*Lives*, 'Lysander,' p. 307 b).

80. *peale* by aphaeresis for *appeal*, Fr. *appel*, 'a call,' 'a loud sound.'

82. *He...earth*. Luke xviii. 8. Two points must be noticed here: (1) the words quoted from Scripture contain a question, not a prediction; (2) the *faith* spoken of signifies in its original context 'religious belief,' not 'good faith' or 'truthfulness,' the sense in which Bacon misapplies it.

## ESSAY II.

### OF DEATH.

P. 4, l. 4. *wages of sinne*, Romans vi. 23.

8. *friars' books*. The passage has not yet been found. A *Friar* (Fr. *frère*, Lat. *frater*) in the Roman Catholic Church is a member of one of the mendicant monastic orders. The four orders whose members are chiefly known as friars are the Franciscans (Grey Friars), Dominicans (Black Friars), Carmelites (White Friars), and Augustinians (Austin Friars).

17. *Pompa* &c. Loosely quoted from Seneca, *Epist.* iii. 3, 14.

21. *mates*: ultimately from Pers. *mat*, 'astonished,' 'confounded': so 'checkmate' from *shah mat*, lit. 'the king is dead.' From the adj. *mate*, 'confounded,' comes the verb 'to mate,' signifying 'to confound,' 'to stupefy,' and so 'to overpower.'

27. *Otho*: Tacitus, *Histories*, II. 49; Suetonius, *Otho*, 12.

P. 5, l. 31. *niceness*. The adj. *nice* is derived from Lat. *nescius*, 'ignorant'; it is unnecessary to assume that there has been any confusion with the Fr. *niais*, 'simple.' From its original sense (1) 'ignorant,'



*nice* acquired the meaning (2) 'fastidious' (denoting a particular kind of ignorance), and hence in a good sense (3), 'discriminating' of persons, and (4) 'delicate' of things: lastly, because 'delicate,' therefore (5) 'agreeable,' the common meaning of the word now.

31. *Cogita* &c. Seneca, *Epistles*, x. 1, 6, loosely quoted. The words are not Seneca's, however, but are given with his approbation as those of *amicus noster Stoicus*.

39. *Livia* &c., Suetonius, *Augustus*, 99.

41. *Jam Tiberium* &c., Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 50.

42. *Ut puto* &c., Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 23; Dio Cassius, lxvi. 17. Suetonius says that the remark was made 'at the commencement of his illness,' not when he was at the point of death.

43. *Feri* &c., Tacitus, *Histories*, i. 41; Suetonius, *Galba*, 20; Plutarch, *Galba*, p. 714 b.

45. *Adeste* &c., Dio Cassius, LXXVI. 17.

46. *Stoikes*. See INDEX. Bacon here misrepresents their usage. Living and dying they regarded as things in themselves indifferent.

48. *Qui finem* &c., Juvenal, *Satires*, x. 358. The original reads *spatium* instead of *finem*.

56. *Nunc dimittis*, from the Song of Simeon, Luke ii. 29.

59. *Extinctus* &c., Horace, *Epist.* ii. i. 14.

## ESSAY III.

### OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

P. 6, ll. 5-9. *the religion...the poets*. Bacon has in view exclusively the religions of Greece and Rome. Even as regards these his statement is too sweeping. 'It is true of the Greeks that "the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets." It is untrue of the Romans, who had their regular colleges to preside over the national faith and worship.' (Keynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, p. 25).

10. *a jealous God*, Exodus xx. 5.

25. *Ecce* &c., Matthew xxiv. 26.

28. *a church*, the Church of Rome probably.

30. *Doctor of the Gentiles*, Acts xxii. 21.

P. 7, l. 32. *If an heathen* &c., 1 Corinth. xiv. 23, loosely quoted.

37. *to sit downe &c.*, Psalm i. 1, 'nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.'

38. *a light thing*, alluding to the illustration which follows from Rabelais (see INDEX) 'a Master of Scoffing'; *Pantagruel*, II. 7.

*vouched*. The word *vouch* comes from Lat. *vocare*, (1) 'to call to witness,' as here, hence (2) 'to declare,' (3) 'to answer for.'

42. *Morris Daunce*, a *Morisco* or '*Moorish* dance,' said to have been introduced into England in Edward III.'s reign.

56. *Is it peace &c.*, 2 Kings ix. 18-19.

59. *Laodiceans*, Revelation iii. 14-16. See INDEX.

P. 8, l. 64. *league of Christians*, i.e. the principles of association among Christians.

65. *crossed clauses*, in the Latin Version 'those clauses which seem at first sight to be contradictory.' The passages occur in Matt. xii. 30 and Mark ix. 40 (or Luke ix. 50).

68. *points fundamentall*: Bacon says elsewhere that 'the ancient and true bonds of unity are one Faith, one Baptism, and not one Ceremony, one Policy.'

70. *meerely*, i.e. 'entirely,' 'absolutely,' not in its modern sense 'only': *mere* comes from Lat. *merus*, 'unmixed,' 'pure.' Cf. Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 265, 'his *mere* enemy,' i.e. 'his absolute enemy'; *Othello*, II. ii. 3 '*mere* perdition,' i.e. 'utter destruction'; and *Essay* 58, 15.

79. *one of the Fathers*. The expression is Augustine's. He is speaking however not of 'Christ's coat' but of the queen 'in raiment of needle work' mentioned in Psalm xlv. 14. Bernard also borrows an illustration from this queen of the Psalter (*circumamicta varietatibus*, Vulgate, Psalm xlv., corresponding to Psalm xlv. in the A.V.) but he does not apply it to diversity of doctrine in the Christian Church.

97. *Devita &c.*, 1 Timothy vi. 20.

P. 9, ll. 100-1. *meaning...meaning*. To the same purport Hobbes says, 'Words are wise men's counters, they do but reckon by them, but they are the money of fools.' (*Leviathan*, I. 4.) The words 'right,' 'law,' 'value of money,' 'theory,' 'church,' are instances in point. See Mill, *Logic*, Bk. v. ch. vii. § 1.

103. *implicite ignorance*, i.e. either (1) ignorance which accepts without question whatever is placed before it, (just as we speak of 'implicit faith,' 'implicit confidence,') or (2) inherent ignorance, ignorance which pervades the mind and prevents it from seeing the incompatibility of contrary opinions.

107. *Nabucadnezzar's image*: Daniel ii. 33, 41.
118. *to propagate religion by wars* explains the meaning of 'Mahomet's sword.'
124. *ordinance of God*: Romans xiii. 1.
125. *the first table against the second, i.e.* the first table of the Decalogue, which teaches duty towards God, against the second, which teaches duty towards man.
130. *Tantum &c.*, Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, l. 95.
- P. 10, l. 131. The Massacre of the Huguenots on St Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572.
132. The Gunpowder Plot, 1605.
137. *Anabaptists*, see INDEX. In the edition of 1612 Bacon calls them 'the madmen of Munster.'
138. *I will ascend &c.*, Isaiah xiv. 12-14, where the words are put into the mouth of the King of Babylon, not of the devil. But the passage is regarded as parabolic.
146. *liknesse of a dove*, Matthew iii. 16.
148. *assassins*, originally, members of the sect of *Hashshashin*, hashish-eaters, who intoxicated with hashish the agents that were chosen to commit murder. This military and religious order was founded in Persia *circ.* A.D. 1090 and was suppressed *circ.* 1272. Bacon uses the term here apparently in its modern sense of 'murderers.'
151. *Mercury rod*, see INDEX. Cf. Virgil, *Æneid*, IV. 242-4; Homer, *Odyssey*, XXIV. 1-5.
152. *facts*, Lat. *facta*, 'things done.' Cf. Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, III. vi. 10; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II. 124; XI. 457.
155. *Ira &c.*, James i. 20.
157. *a wise Father*. He has not been identified.

## ESSAY IV.

### OF REVENGE.

P. 11, l. 1. *Wilde justice*. Revenge is a weed which requires uprooting: the penalties imposed by the tribunals of civilised society are the fruits of the cultivated justice of the law.

8. *It is &c.*, Proverbs xix. 11. Bacon's parenthetical remark 'I am sure' warns the reader that the quotation is from memory and has not been verified.

12. *There is no man* &c. Compare with this statement *Ess. 13, 53-5.*

22. *is still beforehand.* When a man has taken revenge on his enemy, the two are quits. But then, if the law punishes him for his act of revenge, he suffers a second injury as against the single injury incurred by the aggressor.

27. *the arrow that flyeth in the darke*, Psalm xci. 5, 6: 'the arrow that flieth by day...the pestilence that walketh in darkness.'

P. 12, l. 33. *Shall wee* &c., Job ii. 10.

38. *fortunate.* Fortunate for whom? Apparently Bacon means that 'public revenges'—acts of vengeance done to those who have committed wrong against the state—issue fortunately for the agents. Thus Augustus, who avenged the death of Julius Caesar, and Septimius Severus, who avenged the death of Pertinax, prospered by their action. But if this is his meaning the mention of Henry III. seems irrelevant, for Henry IV. who succeeded to the throne took no part in the 'public revenge' by which Jacques Clément paid the penalty of his crime. Moreover it was the assassination of Henry III., and not the punishment of the assassin, which opened the way for Henry IV.'s accession. See Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, p. 36.

42. *witches.* An act was passed in James I.'s reign rendering witches liable to death upon a first conviction.

## ESSAY V.

### OF ADVERSITIE.

4. *Bona* &c., Seneca, *Epist.* 66.

5-6. *Certainly...adversity: i.e.* Adversity certainly affords most opportunities for exercising that control over our own nature which almost amounts to the miraculous, for by the miraculous we mean the control of nature by a superior power. Bacon treats *mirabilia* as if it meant *miracula*.

7. *too high, i.e.* above the moral standard of a heathen.

9. *security*, in the sense which the word has in Latin, 'freedom from care' (*securus, i.e. sine cura*). Cf. Ben Jonson, *The Forest*, XI Epode:

'Man may *securely* sin, but *safely* never.'

*Vere* &c., Seneca, *Epist.* 53: *imbecillitatem* is the word in the original, not *fragilitatem*.

14. *strange fiction*: Apollodorus, *De Deorum Origine*, II. 5, 10; Athenaeus, XI. 38. The legend says nothing however of the 'earthen pot or pitcher.'

P. 13, l. 20. *thorow*. The old form *thorough* is used now chiefly as an adjective, as e.g. in 'thoroughfare'; the modern form *through* as a preposition. Cf. Matthew iii. 12, 'He will *thoroughly* purge.'

24. *Prosperity* &c. Cf. e.g. Deuteronomy xxviii. 1-13 with Matthew v. 3-12. The passage from this point to the end of the Essay was added in the edition of 1625, and is quoted by Macaulay as an illustration of the growing richness and softness of Bacon's style. (Macaulay, *Essays*, I. 412-3.)

26. *benediction* probably denotes a blessing of a high and spiritual character.

28. *David's harpe*, i.e. the Psalms of David.

39. *crushed*. 'Mr Bettenham said that virtuous men were like some herbs and spices, that give not out their sweet smell till they be broken and crushed' (Bacon, *Apophthegms*, p. 172).

## ESSAY VI.

### OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION.

P. 14, l. 5. *Tacitus saith, Annals*, v. 1.

*sorted well*, a rendering of Tacitus's *bene composita*. *Arts* is used in a good sense as equivalent to 'diplomacy.'

The verb *sort* is used by Bacon in the following senses:

(1) 'to agree,' 'to be in harmony with,' as here, and in *Ess.* 27, 255; 38, 46.

(2) 'to consort,' 'to associate,' *Ess.* 7, 28.

(3) 'to issue in,' 'to result in,' *Ess.* 7, 34; 27, 49.

(4) 'to arrange,' *Ess.* 45, 31.

9. *We rise* &c., Tacitus, *Histories*, II. 76.

17. *Arts of State and Arts of Life*: perhaps a combination of *civiliū artium decus* (*Agricola*, 39) and *bonas domi artes* (*Ann.* III. 70).

27. *mannaged* from French *manège*, 'the handling or training of a horse.'

28. *passing well*, i.e. 'surpassing well.' Cf. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, II. ii. 427, for the same expression; *Othello*, I. iii. 160, 'passing strange,' and Goldsmith, *Deserted Village*, 141, 'passing rich.'

P. 15, ll. 35-6. *without observation...what he is, i.e.* affords no opportunity for people to observe what he really is.

39. *industriously*, a Latinism, *de industria*.

45. *As the more close aire sucketh in the more open.* If Bacon's illustration refers to a warm room, it is the air inside that is really 'open' or rarified, and the cold air outside that is 'close' or dense.

49-51. *men rather discharge...secrecy: i.e.* It is for the sake of relieving their own minds rather than for the sake of imparting information that men confide their secrets to people who can keep them. Indeed the man who is no 'blab or babbler' may claim as his right that other people should confide to him their secrets. 'Mysteries are *due* to secrecy.'

54-5. *As for talkers...withall.* Bacon's argument may be put thus:—A chatterbox talks more than he knows, and talk of this kind is probably nonsense. But a man who talks nonsense is likely to be a vain or silly fellow, and if he believes the nonsense that he talks he must be a credulous one into the bargain.

54. *futile*, Lat. *futilis*, from *fundere*, 'to pour,' so 'leaky,' hence 'talkative' and 'vain' or 'worthless.'

59. *a man's face...to speake.* A man's expression of countenance must neither contradict what he has said nor reveal what he is about to say.

P. 16, l. 67. *indifferent*, 'impartial,' but in *Ess.* 8, 29, 'a matter of no consequence.'

74. *oraculous speeches.* The responses of ancient oracles were discreetly ambiguous, e.g. *Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.* Cf. Shakespeare, 2 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 62-72.

86. *ure*, meaning much the same as *use* but of different origin, survives in *inure*, *manure* (i.e. *manœuvre*) from French *œuvre*, 'work.'

89. *alarum* or *alarm*, from Italian *all' arme*, 'to arms.'

94-7. *For to him...of thought.* People will not interrupt with contradictions a man who expresses his opinions, but they will criticise him freely in their minds.

95. *faire*: cf. our adverbial use of *just*: e.g. 'just let him go on,' i.e. 'simply let him go on.'

P. 17, l. 103. *round*, see *Ess.* 1. 64, note p. 181.

## ESSAY VII.

## OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

2-3. *They cannot...the other.* Their joys are beyond the power of words to express; their griefs pride prevents them from publishing.

9. *foundations, e.g. schools and colleges.* Bacon speaks as a childless man.

P. 18, l. 19. *Salomon saith:* Proverbs x. 1.

34. *sorteth*, see note on *Ess. 6*, 5, p. 186.

49. *Optimum &c.* A maxim of Pythagoras, quoted by Plutarch, *De Exilio* VIII.

50-2. *Younger brothers...disinherited.* The argument in favour of primogeniture 'was put by Dr Johnson in a manner more forcible than complimentary to an hereditary aristocracy, when he said that it "makes but one fool in a family"' (J. S. Mill, *Political Economy*, Bk. V. ch. IX. § 2).

## ESSAY VIII.

## OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

P. 19, ll. 1-3. *He that...mischiefe.* Fortune holds in her hands a man's wife and children and can punish them for his failures. Hence he is checked in his actions.

11. *impertinences, i.e. 'things not pertinent to them,' 'things which do not concern them.'*

21. *humorous*, 'following the predominant humour.' It was supposed that a man's physical and mental qualities were determined by the proportion in which the four cardinal humours (blood, choler, phlegm, and melancholy) entered into his constitution.

26-28. *A single life...poole.* Bacon's illustration gives a reason for advocating celibacy of the clergy. A married clergyman must 'fill a pool,' i.e. spend his money on his own family: a celibate can 'water the ground,' i.e. distribute his money amongst his flock.

P. 20, l. 42. *Vetulam &c.* The sentiment is expressed in Cicero's *De Oratore*, I. 44. Mr Reynolds (*Bacon's Essays*, p. 54) quotes a passage from the Latin version of one of Plutarch's Dialogues bearing a close verbal resemblance to Bacon's words.

50. *quarrell*, Lat. *querela*, 'complaint.' The word signifies (1) 'complaint,' (2) 'accusation,' 'plea,' 'ground of difference,' (3) 'altercation.'

51. *one of the wise men*, viz. Thales of Miletus (see INDEX). Plutarch, *Sympos. Probl.* III. 6; Diog. Laertius, *Life of Thales*, I. § 26.

## ESSAY IX.

### OF ENVY.

P. 21, l. 2. In this Essay Bacon uses the word 'Envy' to denote—

- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| 'Private envy'..... | } 1. Envy as commonly understood.<br>2. Malevolence, e.g. l. 53. |
| 'Public envy'.....  |  |
|                     | 3. Discontentment.   |

8. *an evill eye*, Mark vii. 22. The Lat. *invidia*, from which we derive our word *envy*, comes from *invideo*, 'to look askance at,' 'to cast an evil eye upon.'

9. *influences*, in its lit. sense, of rays 'flowing' from the stars and affecting the fortunes of men. Cf. Job xxxviii. 31; Milton, *L'Allegro*, 121—2. For *evill aspects* cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, I. iii. 91—2, 'ill aspects of planets evil.' The old belief that 'evil aspects' of the stars brought bad fortune is preserved in the word *dis-aster*.

11. *ejaculation*, i.e. 'casting out,' used now only of the casting out of sounds, 'sudden utterance.'

12. *curious*, fr. Lat. *cura*, 'care,' (1) 'careful,' (2) 'carefully wrought,' 'elaborate,' hence (3) 'exciting surprise,' 'odd,' and (4) 'inquisitive.'

16. *spirits*, viz. the subtle vital essence which was supposed to pervade the body and to effect the performance of the various functions. The idea was that these vital spirits rise to the head and are drawn to the eyes by the passions of love and envy. Issuing thence they infect the surrounding atmosphere: consequently the vital spirits of those who look on are injuriously influenced.

P. 22, l. 31. *estate*. Bacon uses the forms *state* and *estate* indifferently: (cf. *special* and *especial*, *stablish* and *establish*, *squire* and *esquire*, &c.). The following meanings of the words should be noticed:—

- (1) 'fixed condition,' *Ess.* 9, 31; 27, 221.
- (2) 'fine style,' 'pomp,' *Ess.* 18, 27.
- (3) 'property,' 'fortune,' *Ess.* 15, 80; 34, 106.
- (4) 'the body politic,' 'the commonwealth,' *Ess.* 9, 158; 14, 2.



(5) 'one of the orders or classes into which the population is divided,' e.g. 'the Three Estates': *Ess.* 19, 123; 29, 130; 48, 22.

36. *Non est* &c. Plautus, *Stichus*, I. iii. 54.

42. *Deformed persons*. 'I think that this stroke is aimed at his cousin the Earl of Salisbury' (Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, p. 65).

49. *Agésilas*, Plutarch, *Lives*, p. 411a.

53-4. *thinke...sufferings*. Cf. Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, III. i. 108-

11. Mr Reynolds suggests that Bacon wrote this paragraph 'with some recollection of his old enemy Coke' (*Bacon's Essays*, p. 65).

P. 28, ll. 70-1. *there was nobody to looke on*, and therefore no public disgrace to avenge.

93. *travels*, i.e. 'travails,' 'labours': in this sense the form 'travail' is still used of labour in childbirth.

P. 24, l. 100. *abate*, French *abattre*, 'to beat down,' so 'to blunt,' 'to depress,' and intransitively 'to decrease.'

120-3. *For in that...envy him*, i.e. A man who craftily conceals his greatness practically confesses that fortune has dealt with him better than he deserved.

130. *derive*, Lat. *de*, 'from,' *rivus*, 'a stream,' so lit. 'to divert water from its channel.'

P. 28, l. 138. *ostracisme* (Greek *δοτράκον*, 'a potsherd' or 'tablet used in voting') was a political measure in force at Athens by which citizens, whose presence seemed dangerous to the state, were banished by public vote for a term of years.

149. *plausible*, 'deserving applause': now used to signify 'seemingly but not really deserving applause.'

P. 26, l. 171. *the devill*: *ὁ διάβολος* is 'the calumniator,' 'the slanderer.'

172. *The envious man...might*. Matthew xiii. 25. Bacon has taken liberties with his quotation to make it suit his context. There is no mention of an 'envious man' in the original. The Greek has *ὁ ἐχθρὸς αὐτοῦ*, the Vulgate *inimicus*, and the English 'his enemy.'

## ESSAY X.

### OF LOVE.

1. *beholding*, for past partic. *beholden*. See Abbott, *Shaks. Gram.* §. 372. The original meaning of 'behold,' viz. 'to hold' or 'bind by

obligation,' is retained only in this form. Cf. the verbs *regard*, *observe*, which also combine the senses of 'keep' and 'look at.'

14. *an austere and wise man*. 'There is not much foundation for calling Appius "wise," though he may be called "austere" in the sense of severe' (Abbott, *Bacon's Essays*, II. 140).

17. *Satis* &c. Seneca, *Epist.* 1. 7, quotes the remark from Epicurus, who made it however not as a general proposition (the sense in which Bacon takes it), but as applicable to himself and his philosophical friend to whom he was writing. In the *Adv. of L.*, bk. 1. 3. 7, Bacon calls this 'a speech for a lover, and not for a wise man.' Cf. Pope, *Essay on Man*, II. 2, 'The proper study of mankind is man.'

20. *idoll*, from Gk. εἰδωλον, 'a phantom,' 'an image,' and hence 'the image of a god,' so later 'a false god.' Bacon combines the two senses here: 'His fellow-creature's "image," formed in the eye of the beholder, is no fit object for his adoration.'

P. 27, l. 26. *meerely in the phrase*. There is extravagance not only in the words of lovers, but also in their thoughts.

27. *it hath beene well said*. Plutarch, *De Adulatione et Amico*, II. Cf. *Ess.* 27, 178; 53, 22.

32. *That it is impossible* &c. Publius Syrus, *Sent.* 15, *Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur*. Cf. Plutarch, *Agessilaus*, p. 415b, 'How little consistent are love and prudence!' Similarly Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, III. 2. 163-4.

49. *quarter*, strictly 'a fourth part,' then 'any particular part or district,' e.g. 'the Jews' quarter' of a town, 'military quarters;' cf. *Ess.* 22, 76, 'kept good quarter between them.'

52. *no wayes*, possessive form of the noun used adverbially: cf. *needs*, *nowadays*.

58. *spread*, cf. *Ess.* 8, 27-8.

59. *humane*, in the modern sense.

## ESSAY XI.

### OF GREAT PLACE.

P. 28, l. 11. *Cum non* &c. Cicero, *Epist. ad Fam.* VII. 3, 4.

14. *reason* for 'reasonable': cf. Acts vi. 2, 'It is not reason that we should leave the word of God and serve tables.'

15. *the shadow*. Cf. Latin *vita umbratilis*.

P. 29, l. 28. *Illi* &c. Seneca, *Thyestes*, II. 401.

32. *to can*, trans. 'to know,' cf. *con*, German *kennen*: intrans. 'to be able,' as here: cf. Scotch, 'I'll no *can* go.'

37. *vantage* qualifies *ground*.

38. *is*: the singular verb may be explained as in agreement with the noun *end*, the subject being inverted.

40. *theater*: the Greek *θεατρον*, which means 'a place for seeing shows,' was used later to denote also 'the show' itself: e.g. 1 Corinthians iv. 9, *θεατρον ἐγερθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ*, 'we are made a spectacle unto the world.' This secondary sense is given here to *theatre*.

41. *Et conversus* &c. Genesis i. 31, loosely quoted from the Vulg.

P. 30, ll. 85-6. *no other...esteeme*: absolute construction.

P. 31, l. 93. *Salomon saith*: Proverbs xxviii. 21.

96-7. *A place...man*: Ἀρχὴ ἀνδρα δείκνυσιν. The authorship of the saying is variously assigned to Solon, Bias, and other sages of antiquity. Cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Demosthenes and Cicero compared,' p. 606 b.

98. *Omnium* &c. Tacitus, *Histories*, I. 49.

100. *Solus* &c. Tacitus, *Histories*, I. 50.

103. *whom honour amends*: the construction is faulty.

## ESSAY XII.

### OF BOLDNESSE.

P. 32, l. 3. *Demosthenes*: cf. Cicero, *De Oratore*, III. 56; *Brutus* (*De Claris Oratoribus*, xxxviii. 141); *Orator*, xvii. 55-6. Also Quintilian, *Instit. Orat.* xi. 3.

15. *boldnesse*. So Danton to the Assembly, 1792, 'Il nous faut de l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace.' Cf. also Spenser, *F. Q.* III. xi. 54, 'Be Bolde, Be Bolde, and everywhere, Be Bolde.'

26. *mountebanque*, Ital. *montambanco*, 'one who mounts a bench,' so 'a quack.'

P. 33, l. 36. *If the hill* &c., a Spanish proverb.

51. *a stale at chesse*. A chess-player is 'stalemated' when his king, though not in check, cannot be moved without being placed in check, and the player has either no other piece or pawn on the board or none that he can move. Hence the term is applied metaphorically to any position in which no action can be taken.

## ESSAY XIII.

## OF GOODNESSE AND GOODNESSE OF NATURE.

P. 34, l. 2. *Philanthropia* meant 'kindliness of feeling.' With us *philanthropy* implies more than this, and Bacon means more than this by the word here.

3. *Humanitie*. The Lat. *humanitas* signifies 'culture,' 'refinement,' a sense still retained in the expression 'the Humanities,' used at the Scotch universities to designate Latin and Latin literature, *i.e.* 'polite literature,' *literae humaniores*.

10. *admits no excesse but errour*. We cannot have too much active kindness, but we may make mistakes in applying it.

10-12. *The desire of power...man to fall*. Cf. Pope, *Essay on Man*, l. 125-8,

'Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes,  
Men would be angels, angels would be gods.  
Aspiring to be gods if angels fell,  
Aspiring to be angels men rebel.'

19. *a Christian boy*. It was a Venetian goldsmith. (Busbequius, *Legationis Turcicae Epist.*, Ep. III.) In Bacon's account of the incident there are sundry small inaccuracies, most of which are corrected in the Latin Version of the Essays.

26. *That the Christian Faith &c.* 'If the reference is, as it probably is, to the *Discourses*, II. ii., Machiavelli is shamefully slandered here' (Abbott, *Bacon's Essays*, II. p. 150).

P. 35, l. 34. *to their faces or fancies*, *i.e.* to their fancies as expressed in their faces.

36. *Æsop's cocke*, Phaedrus, *Fables*, III. 12.

38. *He sendeth &c.*, Matthew v. 45.

43-6. *beware how...portraiture*, *i.e.* We are to love our neighbour as ourselves, not more than ourselves. Self-love is the model, love of our neighbour the copy. It is possible to bestow so much upon our neighbour that our duties towards ourselves are neglected.

46. *Sell all &c.*, Mark x. 21.

60. *on the loading part*, *i.e.* throw their weight to that side which the burden already presses most heavily.

61. *Lazarus' sores*, Luke xvi. 21.

63-5. *Misanthropi... Timon had.* For Timon, see INDEX. 'Once in an assembly of the people, he mounted the *rostrum*, and the novelty of the thing having occasioned a universal silence and expectation: at length he said, "People of Athens, there is a fig-tree in my yard, on which many worthy citizens have hanged themselves; and as I have determined to build upon the spot, I thought it necessary to give this public notice, that such as choose to have recourse to this tree for the aforesaid purpose may repair to it before it is cut down."' Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Antony,' p. 643 b. Cf. Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, v. i. 208-215.

P. 80, l. 66. *errours*: the Latin Version has *vomicas et carcinomata*, 'sores and ulcers.'

67. *knee timber*, i.e. timber growing in the shape of a bent leg.

75. *the noble tree*, viz. the balsam tree, from which myrrh is obtained by incision.

80. *trash*, 'the clippings of trees,' hence 'refuse,' 'rubbish.'

82. *anathema*, Romans ix. 3. 'Ἀνάθημα denotes 'a votive offering,' something which is 'set up' (from ἀνίστημι): it occurs in Luke xxi. 5 with the meaning 'gift.' The form ἀνάθεμα is used ecclesiastically in later Greek to signify 'anything devoted to evil,' 'an accursed thing,' 'a curse.'

## ESSAY XIV.

### OF NOBILITY.

P. 87, l. 9. *stirps*, a Latin singular noun, here used as if plural.

9-12. *For men's eyes...pedegree.* This explains why democracies do not need a nobility.

12. *pedegree*, prob. fr. *pied de grue*, 'crane's foot,' from the branching lines of a genealogical tree. Other but less likely etymologies are *par degrés*, 'by degrees,' and *père degrés*, lit. 'father degrees.'

14. *United Provinces*, see INDEX.

P. 88, l. 46. *passive envy* is explained by the words 'from others towards them,' and is opposed to the 'motions of envy' mentioned in the preceding sentence. We may speak of envy as *active* in the man who feels it, *passive* in the man who is its object.

47. *because they...honour*: Latin Version *quod nobiles in honorum possessione nati videntur*, 'because nobles seem to have been born with the possession of honour.' Cf. *Ess.* 9, 86.

49. *a better slide into their business.* The edition of 1612 gives *in*, not *into*, and this is more closely correspondent with the Lat. Vers. *negotia sua mollius fluere sentient*, 'they will find their affairs flow more smoothly.' Pressing the meaning of *into*, we may interpret the passage in one or other of the following ways:

(1) Kings that have able nobles will find greater smoothness (entering) into their business, *i.e.* affairs of state will run with less friction:

(2) Kings that have able nobles will slide more easily into their business, *i.e.* will get a grip of it with less difficulty:

(3) Kings that have able nobles will find (other people) slide better into their business, *i.e.* adapt themselves more readily to their business, bend to them, submit to their authority.

## ESSAY XV.

### OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

1. *Shepherds of People*, ποιμένες λαῶν, Homer.

*Kalenders.* The word is derived from Latin *calendae* (or *kalendae*) the first day of the month.

2—4. *which are commonly...the æquinotia*, *i.e.* civil disturbances accompany equality between different classes in the state, just as storms are most severe when days and nights are of equal length. A quaint illustration, of no value as an argument, since the supposed analogy is purely fanciful.

7. *Ille etiam &c.* Virgil, *Georgics*, I. 464—5.

P. 39, l. 15. *Illam Terra &c.* Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV. 178—80.

26. *Conflata &c.* Tacitus, *Histories*, I. 7, inaccurately quoted. The original has *Inviso semel principe*, 'when an emperor is once unpopular,' not *conflata magna invidia*.

33. *Erant in &c.* Tacitus, *Histories*, II. 39, a loose adaptation.

41. *Macciavel.* The reference is perhaps to *Discourses* III. 27.

P. 40, l. 46. *entred League*, viz. the League of the Holy Trinity, commonly called the Holy League, formed by the Guises for the suppression of French Protestantism, 1575. See INDEX, *Henry III.*

48—51. *For when the authority...possession*, *i.e.* when the authority of the sovereign is employed in the interests of a party, and loyalty has less binding force than other motives, kings are in a fair way of losing their position.

56. *Primum Mobile*, 'according to the old opinion,' i.e. in the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, was the tenth and outside sphere, carrying round with it, in its daily revolution, the nine inner spheres, which contained the planets and fixed stars. These inner spheres had a slower and contrary movement of their own. Bacon employs the illustration again *Ess.* 17, 21 and 51, 59. Cf. Milton, *P. L.* IV. 592-5.

61. *liberius* &c. Tacitus, *Annals*, III. 4, a loose quotation of *promptius apertiusque quam ut meminisse imperitantium crederes*, 'too readily and openly for you to think that they felt respect for their rulers.'

64. *Solvam* &c. Apparently a combination of the following passages,—Isaiah xlv. 1, 'I will loose the loins of kings,' and Job xii. 18, 'He looseth the bond of kings and girdeth their loins with a girdle.'

68. *this part of predictions*, appositional use of preposition *of*. Cf. *Ess.* 22, 10.

P. 41, l. 81. *civill warre*, between Caesar and Pompey.

83. *Hinc* &c. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, I. 181-2. The original reads *avidum*, 'interest eager for the settling day,' not *rapidum*.

99. *Dolendi* &c. Pliny, *Epist.* VIII. 17, 6.

101. *mate*, see note to *Ess.* 2, 21, p. 181.

103. *secure*, see note to *Ess.* 5, 9, p. 185.

P. 42, l. 113. *strangers*, i.e. the presence of foreigners, whose competition injures the native population.

124. *well ballancing of trade*, i.e. exports are to exceed imports in value, so that the balance may be paid in money and the country be thereby enriched,—the old Mercantile Theory, which went down under the assaults of Adam Smith. Consistently with this theory Bacon maintains that, in foreign trade, 'whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost' (l. 145), a correct conclusion if the advantage of international exchange rests with the country which receives a balance in gold or silver. Some of Bacon's other suggestions, e.g. for the passing of sumptuary laws and laws for the regulation of prices, have been discredited as economic theory has advanced.

P. 43, l. 150. *materiam* &c. Ovid, *Metamorph.* II. 5 (in the original *superabat*), describing the palace of the sun.

153. *mines above ground*, viz. the industrious habits, manufacturing skill, and extensive carrying-trade of the Dutch.

158. 'Mr Bettenham used to say that riches were like muck; when it lay upon an heap, it gave but a stench and ill odour; but when it was spread upon the ground, then it was cause of much fruit' (*Apophthegms*, p. 175).

161. *ingrossing*, i.e. buying up a commodity *in gross* for the purpose of resale; in modern commercial slang 'making a corner.' Statutes were passed rendering 'regrators, forestallers, and ingrossers' liable to imprisonment, forfeiture, and the pillory, and under one of these a corn-merchant was prosecuted as late as the year 1800, and found guilty, but never brought up for judgment. The Acts disappeared from the Statute Book in 1844.

*great pasturages*. The depopulation of the country districts during the age of the Tudors arose from the conversion of arable land into pasture. This conversion was due partly to the increase of the wool-trade, and partly to the Enclosure Acts, under which the small farmers were evicted from the land. Cf. *Ess.* 29, 121-6.

170. *troubling of the waters*, John v. 4.

173. *Pallas*: it was Thetis (according to Homer, *Iliad*, i. 396-404) or Gaia (according to Hesiod, *Theogony*, 617 *et seqq.*). Bacon assigns the part to Pallas as the goddess of wisdom.

P. 44, l. 182. *impotumations*, or *impotumes*, a corrupt form of *apostumes* for *apostemes*; *aposteme*, Greek ἀποστήμα, 'abscess.'

184-5. *The part of...discontentments*. 'Forethought' should copy 'Afterthought's' action; in other words, statesmen should prevent popular discontent from arising by removing its causes.

P. 45, l. 220. *Sylla &c.* Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, 77, inaccurately quoted. There is a play on the word *dictare*.

224. *Legi a se &c.* Tacitus, *Histories*, i. 5; Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Galba,' p. 711 b.

226. *Probus*: Vopiscus (fl. A.D. 290) is the authority for Probus. He mentions a speech of like purport but differently expressed (*Probus*, 20). Cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. XII.

240. *Atque is &c.* Tacitus, *Histories*, i. 28: he is describing the state of feeling at Rome among the soldiers at the time of Galba's murder.

## ESSAY XVI.

### OF ATHEISME.

P. 46, l. 1. *the Legend*, i.e. the *Legenda Aurea*, or *Golden Legend*, containing the Lives of Saints, written by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, who died A.D. 1292.

2. For the *Talmud* and *Alcoran* see INDEX.



5-7. *a little philosophy...religion.* Cf. Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, 215-218, 'A little learning is a dang'rous thing, &c.'

8. *second causes*, i.e. efficient or immediate causes of phenomena, as distinguished from God, the 'Great First Cause.'

16. *four mutable elements*, viz. fire, water, earth, and air, the constituents of which terrestrial things were composed. To these was added a fifth immutable essence, ether, of which the heavenly bodies were composed. Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VII. 244, 'quintessence pure.'

20. *The foole* &c. Psalm xiv. 1.

P. 47, l. 42. *Non Deos* &c. Diog. Laertius, x. 123.

53. *contemplative atheist*, i.e. the atheist whose philosophical speculations lead him to the rejection of God, as distinguished from the practical atheist, whose mode of life is a denial of God's existence though he may profess a theological belief.

P. 48, l. 65. *St Bernard saith: Ad Pastores Sermo*, § 8. But the quotation has been altered by Bacon.

79. *melior natura*, from Ovid, *Metam.* l. 21, 'Hanc Deus et melior litem natura diremit.'

89. *Quam volumus* &c. Cicero, *De Haruspicum Responsis*, IX. 19.

## ESSAY XVII.

### OF SUPERSTITION.

P. 49, l. 5. *Surely* &c. Plutarch, *De Superstitione*, x.

8. *as the poets speak of Saturn*: Ovid, *Fasti*, IV. 197.

14-15. *But superstition...men.* Bacon has especially in view the influence of Romanism. He means that, in the case of an atheist, morality and law may come into play, but when a man's mind is under the sway of false religious dogmas, morality and law are inoperative.

P. 50, l. 21. *Primum Mobile*, see *Ess.* 15, 56, note p. 196.

22-4. *The master...order.* Superstition flourishes because there is a readiness on the part of the people to become its victims. *Populus vult decipi, ergo decipiatur*, 'People like to be gulled; then let them.' Men's practice ought to be regulated by rational principles; but where superstition operates, the practice is established first, and reasons are afterwards invented to justify it. Thus the rational order is reversed.

26. *Schoolemen*, see INDEX.

28. *eccentrics and epicycles*. According to the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, the planets moved in circles, called 'epicycles' because they had their centres on the circumference of other circles. As the centre of these latter circles did not coincide with the earth, they were called 'eccentrics.'

'The humour lies in the use of *eccentric* in its special astronomical sense, and then in its ordinary sense. But it was said not gravely, but *da alcuni faceti*; not by some of the prelates in the Council, but by outsiders at a distance, and it made no mention of the schoolmen, and had no reference to anything that touched upon the practice of the Church' (Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, p. 123).

Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VIII. 81-84:

'How build, unbuild, contrive,  
To save appearances; how gird the sphere  
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,  
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb.'

*to save the phenomena*, i.e. 'to frame a hypothesis that should not be inconsistent with the phenomena which it seeks to explain.' Compare Milton's expression, 'to save appearances.'

34. *Pharisaicall holinesse*, i.e. holiness which parades its observance of minute details of ritual.

37. *good intentions*. In *Ess. 3*, 68, Bacon draws a distinction between 'the points fundamental and of substance in religion' and 'points of opinion, order, or good intention.' His meaning here is that, if indulgence is shown to the 'good intentions' of individuals, new and eccentric doctrines may be introduced into the Church.

38. *conceits*. The Latin Version gives as the equivalent of 'conceits' the Greek *ἐθελοθρησκεία*, 'self-devised worship,' a word which occurs in Coloss. ii. 23, and is rendered in the A.V. 'will-worship.'

## ESSAY XVIII.

### OF TRAVAILE.

P. 51, l. 6. *allow*, in the sense of 'approve,' 'praise,' from Lat. *allaudare*, as in Luke xi. 48, 'ye allow the deeds of your fathers,' confused with *allow*, Fr. *allower*, late Lat. *allocare*, 'to assign' (whence *allocate* and its doublet *allot*), so 'to concede,' 'to grant.'

12. *hooded*, a metaphor from falconry. Cf. Shakespeare, *Henry V.* III. vii. 121, 'a hooded valour.'

P. 52, l. 28. *Burses*. It seems doubtful whether there is any difference of meaning between *Burse* and *Exchange*. Thus the *Burse*, built by Sir Thomas Gresham in 1566, was called the Royal Exchange, and Britain's *Burse*, built in 1609, where Exeter Hall now stands, in the Strand, was afterwards called Exeter 'Change. The word *burse*, of which *purse* is a doublet, French *bourse*, comes ultimately from Greek βύρσα, 'a skin.'

35. *triumphs, masks*, see *Ess.* 37, *Introduction*, note, p. 224.

50. *adamant*, Greek ἀδάμας, 'unconquerable,' was the name applied to a very hard metal, probably steel: also to the diamond (*diamond*, French *diamant*, from *adamant* by aphaeresis), and to the magnet or loadstone. Cf. *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. i. 195, 'You draw me, you hard-hearted adamant.'

74-9. Allusions to the effect of foreign travel upon the 'apparel' and 'country manners' of Englishmen occur in *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii. 79, *As You Like It*, IV. i. 33-37, *Richard II.* II. i. 21-3.

## ESSAY XIX.

### OF EMPIRE.

P. 54, l. 8. *That the king's &c.* Proverbs xxv. 3.

17. *Nero*, Dio Cassius, LXIII. 1; Tacitus, *Annals*, XVI. 4; Suetonius, *Nero*, 20.

*Domitian*, Suetonius, *Domitian*, 19.

18. *Commodus*, Dio Cassius, LXXII. 10, 22.

19. *Caracalla*, Dio Cassius, LXXVII. 10.

27. *Alexander*, Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Alexander,' 487b-488a.

28. *Dioclesian*. We have no grounds for thinking that Diocletian became 'superstitious and melancholy' in his 'latter yeares.' See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. XIII.

33-4. *for both temper...contraries*. 'It appears then that "the true temper of empire" is the state of things which exists when the two contraries, sovereignty and liberty, are mingled in fit proportions. "Distemper" is when the two are interchanged or alternated. That temper and distemper "consist of contraries" is said, not very precisely, because they are caused respectively by the mingling and by the alternating of two contrary extremes' (Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, p. 131).

36. *Apollonius*, Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, v. 28.

P. 55, l. 48. *try masteries with*: cf. 2 Timothy ii. 5, 'If a man also strive for masteries,' ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀθλῇ τις.

54. *Sunt plerumque* &c. The quotation is made loosely, not from Tacitus, but from Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, ch. 113. In the *Adv. of Learning*, II. 22, Bacon assigns the passage to its right author.

56. *solécisme*, originally 'a grammatical blunder,' hence 'a blunder of any kind.' The people of the Athenian colony of Soli in Asia Minor spoke Greek faultily: a violation of syntax or of idiom was therefore called *σολοικισμός*.

65. *centinell*, from French *sentier*, Latin *semita*, 'a path,' so strictly 'the sentinel's beat,' and hence 'the sentinel' himself.

76. *take up*, strictly 'to obtain on credit,' 'to borrow.' Examples of this use occur in Shakespeare, 2 *Henry IV.* I. 2, 46; 2 *Henry VI.* IV. 7, 134.

P. 56, l. 77. *that League*, directed against the growing power of Venice, A.D. 1480.

82. *Schoole-men*. See INDEX. The reference is to Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Secunda Secundae, Quaest. XL. § 1.

88. *Livia*: probably Livilla, wife of Drusus, is meant, not Livia, wife of Augustus. (See INDEX.) Tacitus, *Annals*, IV. 3, 8. A loose report of a like character concerning Livia, wife of Augustus, is mentioned by Dio Cassius, LVI. 30.

P. 57, l. 115. As Bajazet II. was poisoned by his son Selim, who usurped the throne as Selymus I. in A.D. 1512, it is not easy to see that the father's 'distrust,' though well-grounded, did him any good.

124. *ferraine authority*. The pope's jurisdiction in England had been curtailed by the Statutes of *Provisors* (1350) and of *Praemunire* (1393) and was destroyed by the *Act of Appeals* (1532).

130. *I have noted it* &c. 'He kept a strait hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people: which made for his absoluteness but not for his safety. Insomuch as I am persuaded it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign. For that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not cooperate with him, but let every man go his own way' (*Henry VII.* pp. 475-6).

144. *vena porta*, the portal vein, the blood to the liver. In his *History of Henry VIII.* 'gate-vein,' p. 418.

P. 58, ll. 148-50.

ding to the

Latin Version, 'what he gains in the parts he loses in the whole, as the bulk of the trade is reduced.'

The origin of the territorial hundred is obscure. The term may have been used in the first instance to denote (1) groups containing a hundred warriors each, (2) a hundred families, or (3) a hundred hides of land.

157-8. *Fanizaries and Pretorian Bands*, see INDEX.

162. *which cause good or evil times*, according to astrology.

## ESSAY XX.

### OF COUNSELL.

P. 59, l. 11. *The Counsellour*: Isaiah ix. 6, 'His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor.'

12. *in counsell is stability*: Proverbs xx. 18, 'Every purpose is established by counsel.'

13. *agitation*: 'There is a play upon this word. In Latin *agitare* means "to discuss" as well as "to toss"' (Abbott, *Bacon's Essays*, II. 173).

16. *Salomon's sonne*, Rehoboam, see INDEX. 1 Kings xii.

27. *Jupiter did marry Metis*. Apollodorus I. 3, 6; Hesiod, *Theogony*, 886.

P. 60, ll. 45-6. *with prudence...Pallas armed*: Pallas (Minerva) was the goddess of wisdom.

67. *Plenus rimarum sum*, Terence, *Eunuchus* I. ii. 25.

*futile*, see *Ess.* 6, 54, note p. 187.

P. 61, l. 75. *able to grinde with a hand-mill*, Latin Version *proprio Marte validus*, 'able to fight his own battles.'

90. *non inveniet* &c. Luke xviii. 8, quoted at the end of *Ess.* 1. Bacon means that the remark applies only to a special time, viz. that of Christ's second coming: it does not imply that faithlessness is a quality of men universally.

101. *Principis* &c. Martial, *Epigrams*, VIII. 15, 8.

P. 62, l. 110. *reverend*: though the Latin Version gives *gravior*, the context shows that Bacon means 'reverent,' the reading in the edition of 1612.

112-4. *Therefore it is good...respect*. It is a good plan for a prince to take the opinion of the humbler members of his council in private,

when they will feel more free to say what they think than they would feel in the presence of those of higher rank, and to take the opinion of the more eminent members in company, when they will express themselves with modesty.

119. *secundum genera*, i.e. we must not draw inferences about individuals belonging to particular groups of persons, e.g. lawyers or clergymen, as we draw inferences about circles and triangles.

124. *Optimi* &c. 'Alonso of Aragon was wont to say of himself that he was a great necromancer, for that he used to ask counsel of the dead, meaning books' (*Apophthegms*). Alonso or Alphonso was king of Aragon, 1416-1458.

125. *blanch* may be (1) a corruption of *blench* meaning 'flinch,' 'shrink,' as in Shakespeare, *M. for M.*, IV. v. 5; *Hamlet*, II. ii. 626; or (2) it may come from Fr. *blanchir* (*blanc*, 'white') 'to whiten,' so 'to flatter' (cf. our expression 'to whitewash a character'); or (3) it may be a form of *blandish*, which gives the same meaning as we obtain from (2). The Latin Version has *in adulationem lapsuri sint*, interpreting the word to mean 'flatter.' Either 'flatter' or 'flinch' suits the context.

133. *In nocte consilium*: a Greek proverb, Ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή.

134. *the Commission of Union* sat from the end of October to the beginning of December, 1604.

P. 63, l. 138. *Hoc agere*, a phrase of frequent occurrence: cf. Suetonius, *Caligula*, 58; Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Coriolanus,' p. 167 a.

152. *tribunitious*, i.e. like Tribunes of the Plebs, demagogues.

161. *take the winde of him*, Latin Version *se ad nutum ejus applicabunt*. The reader may take his choice of the following explanations of the metaphor:

(1) 'from a pack which follows the scent of the first hound' (Storr, p. 485).

(2) from a ship which 'follows the direction of the wind' (Selby, p. 200).

(3) 'the same as in the common phrase—will see which way the wind blows' (Reynolds, p. 152).

(4) 'here *wind* seems rather "the breath of opinion" and "to take the wind of a person" means "to borrow one's thoughts from him," i.e. conform oneself to him' (Abbott, II. p. 176).

162. *a Song of Placebo*. The vesper hymn for the dead in the Roman office begins *Placebo Domino in regione vivorum* (Psalm cxvi. 9), 'I will please the Lord in the land of the living.' The word is humorously employed to indicate obsequious behaviour of any sort. Cf.

Chaucer, *Parson's Tale*, 'Flatterers ben the develes chapelyns that singen ay *placebo*.'

## ESSAY XXI.

### OF DELAYES.

P. 64, l. 3. *Sybilla's offer*. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Att.* 1. 19.

6. *the common verse*, probably 'Fronte capillata, post haec Occasio calva' (Erasmi *Adagia*): cf. Phaedrus, *Fables*, v. 8, 2. Our maxim, 'Take time by the forelock' implies that opportunities do not return.

7. *and no hold taken*, i.e. 'no hold having been taken,' absolute construction.

18. *as some have beene*, cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Pompey,' p. 438 a.

20. *over early buckling*, 'buckling on one's armour prematurely to meet dangers.'

26. *the helmet of Pluto*, cf. Homer, *Iliad*, v. 845.

## ESSAY XXII.

### OF CUNNING.

P. 65, l. 1. *cunning*, the verbal noun from *can*, 'to know,' meant (1) 'knowledge,' or 'skill,' (2) 'skill craftily employed,' 'deceit,' (3) 'craftiness.' For sense (1) cf. Psalm cxxxvii. 5, 'let my right hand forget her cunning.'

*sinister*, (1) 'left-handed,' so (2) 'unlucky,' and (3) 'malign.'

4. *packe the cards*: cf. 'a packed jury.' So Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. xiv. 19, and Quarles, *Emblems*, II. 5, 23,

'Thy cunning can but pack the cards,  
Thou canst not play.'

9-10. *of the reall part of businesse*: appositional use of preposition *of*. Cf. *Ess.* 15, 68, 'let us pass from this part of predictions.'

13. *alley*: a metaphor from bowls: the meaning is, 'Such men cannot play well on a strange ground.' The Latin Version *in viis quas sacpe contriverunt* interprets *alley* as 'path' or 'walk in life,' but the expression 'they have lost their aim' is in better keeping with the sense 'bowling-alley.'

15. *Mitte* &c. Diogenes Laertius (II. § 73) ascribes the saying to Aristippus the Cyrenaic (fl. B.C. 400) a pupil of Socrates.

20. *Jesuites*, see INDEX.

P. 66, l. 28. *counsellor and secretary*: Dr Abbott suggests Cecil, or more probably Walsingham.

37. *handsomely*, cf. *dexter-ously*. *Hand-some* originally meant 'handy,' 'dexterous': similarly *pretty* originally meant 'tricky.'

48. *Nehemias*: cf. Nehemiah ii. 1. 'But we are not told that this was an artifice on Nehemiah's part' (Reynolds, p. 163).

54. *as Narcissus did*. Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 29, 30.

P. 67, l. 70. *apposed*, 'questioned.' We call a difficult question 'a poser.' Cf. *Poser*, the name for an Examiner at Eton, and *Apposition Day* at St Paul's School. See *Ess.* 32, 32, 'let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser,' Latin Version *id examinatori convenit*.

72-4. *to let fall those words...take advantage*, i.e. to drop remarks which another man repeats as his own, and by this means to get him into trouble.

*I knew two*; Mr Spedding suggests Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Thomas Bodley (Wright, p. 317). Cecil obtained the post.

89. *the turning of the cat in the pan*. This phrase is used in two senses, (1) as by Bacon here, 'to reverse the order of things so as to make them seem the very opposite of what they are,' 'to turn a thing right round': (2) 'to change sides,' 'to become a turncoat': as, e.g. in the *Vicar of Bray*,—

'I turned the cat-in-pan once more,  
And so became a Whig, Sir.'

The origin of the expression is obscure. The most plausible explanation takes *cat* as a corruption of *cate*, 'a cake,' so that 'turning the cat in pan' means 'turning or tossing the pancake,' a performance that requires some dexterity. The *New Dictionary* asserts however that this derivation is not in agreement with the history of the word *cate*. According to another etymology the phrase is from the Fr. *tourner côté en peine*, 'to turn sides in trouble,' a derivation for which we may reasonably desire further evidence, especially as it is quite irrelevant to meaning (1) of the phrase. Dr Abbott mentions a passage in *Euphues* where reference is made to 'the Cat that leaveth the Mouse to follow the Milk-pan,' but thinks that this expression may be due to a misapprehension of the proverb (*Bacon's Essays*, II. 181). The Latin



translator could make nothing of the phrase: *quod Anglico proverbio* 'Felem in aheno vertere' *satis absurde dicitur*, are his words. 'Turning a cat in a caldron' is certainly said *satis absurde*.

P. 68, l. 96. *Se non* &c. Tacitus, *Annals*, XIV. 57.

102. *carry it*. Mr Reynolds (p. 161) says 'probably, bear it or put up with it, where they would be displeased at a more direct statement.' The Latin Version however, *spurgi efficiunt*, is equivalent to 'carry it about,' 'cause it to be circulated.'

109. *fetch*, i.e. 'fetch a compass,' 'go round.' Cf. Shakespeare, *King John*, IV. ii. 23-4; 2 Samuel v. 23; Acts xxviii. 13. 'The metaphor seems to be derived from a hunter *fetching* a compass so as not to be scented and *beating* a covert' (Abbott, II. 181).

121-6. *But certainly...debate matters*. In these few lines there are several difficulties. They are dealt with by the commentators as follows:

A. *Resorts and falls of business*;  
*cannot sinke into the maine of it.*

(1) Mr Reynolds (p. 165):—*Resorts* (French Vers. *les ressorts*) the springs or movements of the machinery, so the starting-points of the business. *Falls* (French Vers. *les issues*) the conclusion of the business. *The main*, the body or solid part of the business.

'We may look next at the simile which immediately follows. The house has convenient stairs and entries, that is to say there is a convenient way in, out, and about. These stairs and entries clearly correspond to the *resorts and falls*, so that those who know the resorts and falls must, if the simile is pressed, be taken to know their way into, out of, and about the business. But the house has never a fair room or resting place, thus illustrating the defect of those who cannot sink into the main of business, or, in other words, cannot examine or debate matters at due length.'

(2) Dr Abbott (vol. II., p. 181):—'*Resorts* seems used here in the sense of source or fountain.' This is the meaning assigned to the word by Mr Aldis Wright, who quotes in its support a passage from Fuller's *Holy State*, chap. xxv., in which Mr Perkins and Queen Elizabeth are said to have 'had their *fountains and falls* together,' because 'Mr Perkins was born the first, and died the last year' of the queen's reign. This sense of 'source' or 'fountain' thus gives the fit antithesis to *falls*, and agrees with *main*, which seems to be used for 'sea.' (Cf. Shaksp. *M. of V.* v. i. 97, for a similar contrast between the 'inland brook' and the 'main of waters.') 'The meaning then is, "Many can make a striking

start, and now and then a dexterous stroke, but they have no power of continuous administration.”

(3) Mr Storr (p. 490):—‘*Resorts and falls*: the general sense is clear,—“the ups and downs,” the fluctuations of business; but the exact meaning of the words is very obscure.’ Commenting on the interpretation given in (2) Mr Storr says, ‘But no parallel to this sense of *resort* is forthcoming, and elsewhere Bacon uses the word as an equivalent for the French *ressort*, the spring of a machine. (“Such histories do rather set forth the point of business than the true and inward-resorts thereof.” *Adv. of L.*, II. 2, 4.) *Ressort* is also given in Cotgrave as the appeal to a superior court, or the jurisdiction of a superior court. Hence I am inclined to take it here in the sense of “rise.” If so, the *main* will mean the principal part, the principles, as we say “in the main.” If my interpretation of “resorts and falls” be right, the whole sentence will mean: “Some cunning men are well up in the machinery of business; these can pull the wires, and profit by the ups and downs of fortune, but they have never really mastered the subject.”’

#### B. *Looses in the conclusion.*

About the interpretation of this expression, the commentators are fairly in agreement. Thus,—

(1) Mr Aldis Wright (Glossary, p. 372):—‘*Looses*: properly the letting loose of an arrow from the string; hence applied to the act of discharging any business. The Lat. has *exitus*. It is apparently used in the same sense as “deliveries,” *Ess.* 19, 45.’ Dr Abbott endorses this explanation. ‘A *loose*... means “a sudden discharge of business,” with something of the meaning of our modern colloquial “shot.” See *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, v. ii. 752’ (p. 181).

(2) Mr Reynolds (p. 165):—‘*Looses* are lettings go, used especially of letting go a bowstring or launching a dart.... *To find pretty loses in the conclusion* should mean therefore to deliver good shots. It is a variant of knowing the falls of business.’

(3) Mr Storr (p. 490):—‘*Looses*: solutions for concluding or solving the difficulty; like a boy who can find the right answer to a sum, but cannot explain the process.’

128. *wits of direction*, i.e. (1) ‘men with a turn for directing others rather than for being directed’ (Abbott), or (2) ‘intellects specially fitted to direct and decide matters’ (Reynolds): Latin Version *ingenia ad decernendum potius quam disputandum aptiora.*

'Bacon clearly intends to depreciate those whom he is describing; hurriedness of judgment and a superficial show of ability to settle matters offhand being the defects which he intends to fix upon them. But his chief simile is a bad one. There can be no great resemblance between a house with fair rooms, in which the inmate is to stay, and a debate on business, in which the object of the debaters is to proceed: so that the fault corresponding to the absence of a fair room is nothing to the matter in hand' (Reynolds, pp. 165-6).

Mr Reynolds reproduces the three contemporary translations (Latin, French, and Italian) of the expressions 'Resorts and falls,' 'Pretty looses,' and 'Wits of direction,' no two of which agree, 'so that at least two of them must be in error.'

P. 60, l. 131. *Prudens &c.* Proverbs xiv. 8 and 15, loosely from the Vulg.

## ESSAY XXIII.

### OF WISEDOME FOR A MAN'S SELFE.

2. *shrewd* is originally the past participle of the verb *shrewe*, 'to beshrew,' 'to curse.' Cf. Wyclif: 'shrewid generacioun,' i.e. 'un-toward generation,' Acts ii. 40. Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, III. iii. 246; *K. John*, v. v. 14.

3. *waste the publique*, according to the Lat. Vers. 'injure the state.'

5-6. *be so true...country*. Cf. Polonius's speech in *Hamlet*, I. iii. 78-80.

7-8. *For that onely...center*. Bacon speaks here as an adherent of the Ptolemaic theory, according to which the earth was the fixed centre round which the heavens revolved.

11. *in a soveraigne prince*: cf. *Hamlet*, III. iii. 11-15.

17. *eccentricke*, lit. having a different centre. The centre of the selfish man's sphere of action is himself, not his master or the state.

P. 70, l. 18. *bias*, the leaden weight which turns the bowl from its straight course. In like manner corrupt servants are turned from their straight course by personal ends.

31-3. *the good such servants...master's fortune*. Their own gains are small as compared with the amount of injury which they do their masters.

35. *and it were.* On this use of *and*, see Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, §§ 101-3.

44. *the wisdom of crocodiles:* cf. 2 *Henry VI.* III. i. 226,

'—as the mournful crocodile .

With sorrow snares relenting passengers.'

Mr Reynolds gives a page of curious lore on the subject of the wily crocodile (*Bacon's Essays*, pp. 170-1).

47. *sui amantes* &c., adapted from Cicero, *Epist. ad Quintum Fratrem*, III. 8.

## ESSAY XXIV.

### OF INNOVATIONS.

P. 71, l. 2. *Innovation* was used by Shakespeare in its modern sense to signify 'a change for the worse.' With Bacon the word means simply 'change.'

3-5. *those that first bring...succeed:* cf. *Ess.* 14, 36.

9-10. *Surely...evils.* Changes are necessary because of the inherent tendency of man's nature to grow worse.

17. *peece not*, perhaps an allusion to the new cloth and the old garment of Matthew ix. 16.

P. 72, l. 29. *païres*, for *impairs*, by aphaeresis: French *empirer*, Latin *in* and *pejorare* (post-classical), 'to render worse,' from *pejor*. Cf. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I. 7, 41.

'No faith so fast, quoth she, but flesh does paire,

Flesh may empaire, quoth he, but reason can repaire.'

38. *we make a stand* &c. Jeremiah vi. 16.

## ESSAY XXV.

### OF DISPATCH.

11. *for the time:* the Latin Version gives *ut brevi tempore multum confecisse videantur*, 'that they may seem to have done a great deal in a short time.' The expression 'for the time' might also mean 'on that particular occasion.'

P. 73, ll. 14-6. *businessse so handled...manner*. Questions which are 'cut off,' i.e. passed over for the sake of saving time, will come up at subsequent meetings and delay progress.

16. *a wise man*, viz. Sir Amyas Paulet, ambassador to France. In 1576 at the age of sixteen, Bacon went to live under his care at the French court. The name is given in the *Apophthegms*, p. 173.

22. *Spartans*. For their dilatoriness, cf. Thucydides, I. 70, 84; Livy, XLV. 23.

23. *muerte*. 'Bacon strangely builds the Spanish *muerte* for *morte* and *de* for *di* into a proverb which is Italian for the rest' (Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, p. 178).

32. *moderator*. 'This word is still employed in Cambridge to denote an examiner, who once used to *moderate* or control the "actors," i.e. those who were performing their "acts" or exercises for a degree' (Abbott, *Bacon's Essays*, II. 187).

39. *passages*: variously explained:

(1) Latin Version, *transitiones*, which Mr Reynolds considers 'a questionable rendering, and not suiting with the context.' He gives as the meaning,

(2) 'sentences worked into the speech, and (as the context shows) referring to the speaker himself' (p. 176).

(3) Dr Abbott, on the other hand, accepting *transitiones*, takes the word 'to mean the joints in a speech, which serve to connect one part with what follows, as one *passes* from the former to the latter' (II. 188).

(4) Mr Storr suggests *loci communes*, 'rhetorical common-places disconnected with the matter in hand' (p. 493).

P. 74, l. 48. *subtill*, cf. *Ess.* 28, 30.

59-60. *ashes...dust*. Ashes are the product, definite in amount, of some substance which has been destroyed by fire. The amount of dust is indefinite. A discussion in which a scheme has been utterly destroyed may leave a more valuable result in the 'ashes' than a discussion which settles nothing and leaves an indefinite quantity of dust.

## ESSAY XXVI.

### OF SEEMING WISE.

5. *Having a shew* &c., 2 Timothy iii. 5.

8. *Magno conatu nugas*, Terence, *Heaut.* III. v. 8.

10. *prospectives*, optical instruments which produced the same effect as our stereoscopes.

P. 75, l. 21. *Respondes* &c. Cicero, *In Pisonem*, VI.

30. *blanch*, cf. *Ess.* 20, 125, note p. 203.

31. *Hominem* &c. Aulus Gellius has a criticism on Seneca's style, *Noctes Atticae*, XII. 2, in which however these words do not occur. Bacon's quotation seems to be a reminiscence of Quintilian's remark about Seneca, *si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum quam puerorum amore comprobaretur* (*De Instit. Orat.* X. 1 § 130).

32-33. *Plato, Protagoras*, XXIII. p. 337.

39. *allowed*, cf. *Ess.* 18, 6, note p. 199.

*false point of wisdom*, Latin Version, *prudential genus spurium*, 'spurious sort of wisdom.'

P. 76, l. 47. *absurd*. Mr Reynolds (p. 181) understands the word here in the sense 'blunt and rough in manner.' 'The contrast presumably is between the over-formal man, too perfect in compliments and too full of respects, and the man who is negligent of them to a fault.' If, however, Bacon had in view not manners but mental habits, the contrast is between the plain man who occasionally blunders into inconsistency and the man who sees so much to be said on all sides of a question that he never takes action at all.

## ESSAY XXVII.

### OF FRIENDSHIP.

This Essay was written in answer to an appeal from Bacon's good friend Toby Matthew, to whom Bacon says in a letter of 1623, 'For the Essay of *Friendship*, while I took your Speech of it for a cursory request, I took my promise for a compliment. But since you call for it, I shall perform it.'

3. *Whosoever* &c., Aristotle, *Politics* 1. 2. There is nothing in Aristotle's language to justify Bacon's strictures.

7. *should have*, instead of *hath*, as the sentence reports the opinion of somebody else and Bacon considers the opinion false.

11. *falsely and fainedly* may refer to the traditions about 'the heathens' whom Bacon mentions.

16. *For a crowd &c.*, cf. the saying of Scipio Africanus, *Se nunquam minus solum esse quam quum solus esset*. Bacon's sentence is one of singular beauty.

18. *a tinkling cymball*, 1 Corinthians xiii. 1.

19. *Magna &c.* Erasmi *Adagia*. Strabo, the geographer (Bk. xvi.), quotes the pun made by a comic poet on the name of the city Megalopolis, 'Ἐρημία μεγάλη 'στὶν ἡ μεγάλη πόλις. Bacon generalises the remark by what Mr Reynolds calls 'a splendid perversion.'

P. 77, l. 35. *flowers of sulphur*, as we write it, 'flours of sulphur.' *Flower* and *flour* are doublets.

36. *castoreum*, 'castor,' a drug obtained from the body of the beaver.

39. *civill*, opposed here to 'clerical.'

40. *shrift*, (1) the penitential act of confession to a priest, (2) the absolution which followed it.

54. *Participes curarum*. One of the titles conferred by Tiberius on Sejanus was *κοινωνὸς τῶν προντίδων* (Dio Cass. lviii. 4). In speaking of this as 'the Roman name,' Bacon 'seems to have been misled by his double habit of reading Greek authors in a Latin version and of quoting from memory afterwards' (Reynolds, p. 193).

P. 78, l. 62. *Sylla*, Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Pompey,' pp. 430 b-431 a, where the saying is referred to the occasion on which Sulla refused Pompey a triumph. See INDEX, *Pompey*.

69. *With Julius Caesar &c.*, Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Julius Caesar,' p. 510 a.

72. *his nephew*, i.e. great-nephew, Octavius, afterwards Augustus.

79. *Antonius*, &c. Cicero, *Philippics*, XIII. 11.

82. *Augustus raised Agrippa &c.*, Dio Cassius, LIV. 6.

87. *Seianus*, Dio Cassius, LVIII. 6.

90. *Haec pro &c.*, Tacitus, *Annals*, IV. 40.

91. *the whole senate &c.*, Tacitus, *Annals*, IV. 74.

P. 79, l. 94. *his eldest sonne*, viz. Caracalla.

98. *I love the man &c.*, Dio Cassius, LXXV. 15.

106. *halfe peece*. The explanation of the term is doubtful. Dr Abbott suggests that *piece* means 'work of art,' so *half-piece* would be 'the half of a picture or sculpture' (II. 193). Mr Reynolds thinks there is a reference 'to the old practice of cutting silver pennies into halves to make up for the deficiency of smaller coins' (p. 194).

119. *parable of Pythagoras*, Plutarch, *De Educat. Puer.* 17. 'Eat not thy heart; that is to say, offend not thine own soul, nor hurt and

consume it with pensive cares.' We should now call this maxim a proverb or a metaphor rather than a parable.

122. *Canniballs*: the word is a corruption of Caribal, 'a Carib,' the form used by Columbus, and afterwards changed to *canibal* to express the dog-like voracity of the man-eating Caribs.

P. 80, l. 131. *alchemyists...stone*. The Philosopher's Stone was supposed to convert baser metals to gold, and to furnish a universal medicine, the Elixir of Life. *Alchemy* (from *al*, 'the,' *χημεία*, 'chemistry') probably denoted in the first instance the art of extracting medicinal juices.

134. *praying in aid*, a legal phrase. Cf. Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, v. ii. 27.

135-8. *For in bodies...minds*. Bacon assumes that joy is a 'natural motion' and grief a 'violent impression,' and then argues, from the analogy of what takes place in the material world, that friendship will increase joy and diminish grief.

140. *soveraigne*, Ital. *souvrano*, Lat. *supremus*. The *g* is intrusive, from confusion with *reign*: (cf. *foreign*, late Lat. *foraneus*, from *foras*, 'out of doors'). Milton writes *souvan*. Cf. *Coriolanus*, II. i. 127.

155-7. *speech was like cloth of Arras...in packs*, Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Themistocles,' p. 96a. For the anachronism in the term 'cloth of Arras,' Plutarch's translator North is responsible.

Mr Reynolds points out that the comparison drawn by Themistocles was 'not between speech and thought, but between the perfect and the imperfect expression of thought by language. The credit therefore for the very fine simile in the text belongs to Bacon, not to Themistocles' (p. 196).

P. 81, l. 162. *whetteth his wits* &c. Cf. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 304.

170. *Dry light is ever the best*. The correct version of the 'aenigma' is *αὐγὴ ψυχῆ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀπλῶτερη*, 'The dry soul is the wisest and best' (Stobaei *Florilegium*, v. 120), the 'dry soul' meaning the reason when free from the distorting influence of the senses and emotions. In the *Apophthegms* (p. 177) Bacon quotes the saying differently,—'The dry light is the best soul' (*αὐγὴ ξηρὴ ψυχῆ σοφωτάτη*) 'meaning, when the faculties intellectual are in vigour, not drenched, or as it were blooded by the affections.'

178. *no such flatterer* &c. Cf. *Ess.* 10, 27, and 53, 22.

P. 82, l. 194. *that looke* &c. James i. 23-4.

199. *the foure-and-twenty letters*. 'The sounds which we now represent by I and J were not distinguished by symbol till the 17th



century. Rather earlier than this, a distinction was made in the use of the letters U and V so that they represented respectively vowel and consonant' (*Elements of English Grammar*, p. 59. Pitt Press Series). Cf. *Ess.* 38, 16.

202. *to thinke himselfe all in all*: this phrase explains 'imaginations,' with which it is in apposition. *All in all* means 'all things in all respects': cf. 1 Corinthians xv. 28; *Hamlet*, I. ii. 187.

*when all is done*, in our modern phrase 'when everything is said and done,' meaning 'after all.'

P. 33, l. 233. *a frend is another himselfe*, a saying ascribed to Pythagoras and used by Aristotle, *Nicom. Eth.* ix. 4. § 5; *Eudem. Eth.* vii. 12: *Ἐστὶ γὰρ ὁ φίλος ἄλλος αὐτοῦς*.

234. *Men have their time*, cf. Job vii. 1.

239-40. *a man hath...two lives in his desires*: for in the event of his own death, his friend remains to carry out his wishes.

244-8. *How many things...the like*. Cf. Cic. *De Amicit.* xvi. 57.

251-5. *A man cannot speake...the person*. One who speaks in some special character, e.g. as father, husband, or enemy, speaks under the restrictions which that character imposes; but from restrictions of this sort the friend is free.

## ESSAY XXVIII.

### OF EXPENCE.

P. 34, ll. 4-5. *for the kingdome of heaven*: cf. Matthew xix. 24.

24, 25. *plentifull in diet...plentifull in the hall*: 'Diet seems to refer only to the man's own eating and drinking; the hall, to the general table kept for the whole establishment' (Reynolds, p. 200).

P. 35, l. 33. *hee that cleareth &c.* In *Ess.* 38, 20, the contrary course seems to be recommended.

## ESSAY XXIX.

### OF THE TRUE GREATNESSE OF KINGDOMES AND ESTATES.

This Essay was originally published as part of the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, viii. 3. In the Latin translation the title is *De proferendis*

*Imperii finibus*, 'Of extending the Limits of Empire,' and this title corresponds more closely with the contents of the Essay than the title 'Of the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.' For the 'true Greatness' which Bacon has in view is the power of expansion, by which a state extends its territory. This power of expansion lies in military strength, and to establish the military strength of his country is therefore the prime object of a statesman.

5. *He could not fiddle* &c. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Themistocles,' p. 84 b; 'Cimon,' p. 337 a.

7. *metaphore*, literally, 'transference.'

P. 86, l. 23. *negotiis pares*, Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 39 and xvi. 18.

24. *mannage*, cf. *Ess.* 6, 27, note p. 186. The original sense of reining in a horse is preserved here, for Bacon speaks of keeping affairs 'from precipices.'

44. *mustard-seed*, Matthew xiii. 31.

P. 87, l. 57. *It never troubles* &c. Virgil, *Eclogues*, vii. 52.

62. *He would not pilfer* &c. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Alexander,' p. 472 a.

67. *Yonder men* &c. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Lucullus,' p. 353 b.

76. *Solon said well to Cræsus* &c. From Machiavelli, *Discourses*,

II. 10. The story is told by Lucian, *Charon*, 7.

P. 88, l. 87. *mew*, i.e. 'moult,' Fr. *muer*, Lat. *mutare*, 'to change.'

88. *The blessing of Judah and Issachar*: Genesis xlix. 9, 14.

95. *subsides* (Latin *subsidium*, 'troops stationed in reserve': hence, 'aid' of any kind), 'an aid in money.'

107. *staddles*, young trees left standing after a wood has been thinned.

111. *hundred*, for 'hundredth.'

P. 89, l. 121. *History of his Life*, pp. 359-361.

129. *Terra potens* &c. Virgil, *Æneid*, I. 531.

130. *state*, here in its rare use to denote a 'rank' or 'order' of men.

138. *doth* for *do*: either (1) by attraction of 'custom' which immediately precedes the verb, or (2) because the nouns 'splendour,' 'magnificence,' &c. constitute one complex subject.

143. *Nebuchadnezzar's tree*. The illustration of a tree is from Machiavelli, *Discourses*, II. 3. Bacon adds the touch 'Nebuchadnezzar's.' Daniel iv. 10.

P. 90, l. 170. *that spread upon the Romans*, i.e. the whole world became Roman.

179. *in their highest commands*: e.g. Prosper Colonna (di. 1523),

belonging to a Roman family; Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma (di. 1592); Spinola, of Genoa (di. 1630). There were many others.

181. *Pragmaticall Sanction*. This term was first applied to certain decrees of the Byzantine emperors, affecting their subject provinces and towns; then to a system of limitations set to the spiritual power of the pope in European countries; and lastly to a family compact made by different potentates respecting succession to sovereignty, the most celebrated being that by which Charles VI. sought to secure the succession for his daughter Maria Theresa. The Pragmatic Sanction referred to in the text was published by Philip IV. A.D. 1622 (the year in which this Essay appeared in the *De Augmentis*) conferring certain privileges on persons who married, and further immunities on those who had six children.

P. 91, l. 189. *it was great advantage, i.e.* so far as their military power was concerned.

206. *sent a present*: Plut. *Lives*, 'Romulus,' p. 26a; Livy, I. 16.

P. 92, l. 226. *hath grown*, sing. verb as the nouns 'profession and exercise' represent one complex idea.

242. *prest*, French *prêt*, Latin *praesto*, 'at hand,' 'ready.' Cf. Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, I. i. 160.

P. 98, ll. 251-2. *as when the Romans...of Grecia*: 'In the second Macedonian War (B.C. 200-196) one chief ground of quarrel between the Romans and King Philip of Macedon was the refusal of the king to withdraw his garrisons and to leave Greece free' (Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, p. 223).

252-4. *when the Lacedaemonians...oligarchies*. During the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 431-404), 'the establishment of an oligarchy or a democracy was the sign and attendant of a revolt to the Lacedaemonian or Athenian side, and was aided or resisted accordingly. "To set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies" became thus an essential part of the conduct of the war, and must not be judged as an uncalled-for piece of interference with the affairs of a neighbouring state' (Reynolds, p. 224).

278. *Consilium &c.* Cicero, *ad Atticum*, x. 8, loosely quoted.

P. 94, l. 287. *set up their rest*, a metaphor from cards. Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 110; *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. v. 6.

310. *the stile of Emperor, i.e.* the title 'Imperator' with which victorious Roman soldiers hailed their general.

311. *the Triumphes*. A Triumph was a solemn procession in which a victorious general, preceded by the captives and followed by

his troops, passed in state along the Via Sacra and ascended the Capitol to offer sacrifice in the Temple of Jupiter. It was granted or refused by the Senate.

P. 95, l. 315. *that of the Triumph*: some noun such as 'custom' or 'institution' must be supplied. Latin Version, *mos ille triumphandi*.

328. *adde a cubite* &c. Matthew vi. 27; Luke xii. 25.

*this little modell of a man's body*: cf. *Richard II.* III. ii. 153. The *of* is used appositionally, as in *Ess.* 15, 68, and 22, 10.

## ESSAY XXX.

### OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH.

1. *wisdome in this, i.e.* either (1) in this matter viz. the management of one's health, or (2) in a man's own observation.

P. 96, l. 28. *wonder and admiration*. For other examples of Bacon's use of synonyms, see p. 294.

P. 97, l. 43. *Celsus, De Medicina*, i. 1. Mr Reynolds remarks (p. 230) that 'the rules, which Bacon ascribes here to Celsus, convey a wholly incorrect notion of what Celsus says.'

## ESSAY XXXI.

### OF SUSPICION.

P. 98, l. 4. *checke*, a metaphor from falconry: cf. *Ess.* 10, 51.

10. *Henry the Seventh*. For the character of this king see Bacon's *History*, p. 476.

## ESSAY XXXII.

### OF DISCOURSE.

P. 99, l. 1. *desire rather commendation of wit*. So Johnson 'owned he sometimes talked for victory.'

4. *what should be thought, i.e.* if one's thought is to correspond with the facts.

5. *common places*, 'topics,' *loci communes*, 'subjects of discourse.' The Greek *τόπος*, Latin *locus*, and English 'place' all have the same original and derived meanings.

8. *to give the occasion*: One is reminded of Burke's remark after Johnson had monopolized the conversation during a whole evening: 'It is enough for me to have rung the bell to him.' (Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, p. 536, Globe edit.)

9. *moderate*, cf. 'moderator,' *Ess.* 25, 32, note, p. 210.

P. 100, l. 23. *Parce* &c. Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 127.

33. *poser*, cf. *Ess.* 22, 70, note, p. 205.

38. *galliards*. The galliard was a sprightly French dance, introduced into this country in Henry VIII.'s time.

48. *as a field*. The Latin Version is more explicit: 'Conversation should resemble an open field in which you may roam about, not a highway which takes you straight home.'

P. 101, l. 53. *drie blow*: *dry* here means 'severe,' 'hard.' Cf. *Comedy of Errors*, II. ii. 64, 'dry basting'; *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. v. 126, 'dry-beat'; *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 263, 'dry-beaten.'

## ESSAY XXXIII.

### OF PLANTATIONS.

P. 102, ll. 15-18. *It is a shamefull...plant*. 'Transportation, as a means of ridding the mother country of criminals and providing the colonies with cheap labour, began under James I., in whose reign a hundred dissolute persons were sent out to Virginia. The system was brought to an end in 1857.

32. *artichokes of Hierusalem*: the name is a corruption of Ital. *girasole articiocco*, i.e. 'sunflower artichoke.'

P. 100, l. 50. *manure*, from Fr. *manœuvre*, lit. 'to work with the hand,' so 'to till.' Milton uses the word to denote the lopping of trees, *Paradise Lost*, iv. 628.

55. *tobacco in Virginia*. Tobacco was introduced into this country from Virginia in Elizabeth's reign. Complaints were soon made that the settlers had given up the cultivation of every other commodity.

59. *bay salt*, salt obtained by the evaporation of sea-water: *bay* is said to be from the 'Bay' of Biscay.

60. *Growing silke*, the produce of the silk-cotton tree: *growing* is here an adjective.

74. *undertakers*, i.e. those who undertake a business: cf. French *entrepreneur*. The word *undertaker* is used in this general sense by Shakespeare, *Othello*, IV. i. 224; *Twelfth Night*, III. iv. 349. Its meaning has in modern use been narrowed from that of 'contractor' or 'manager' to that of 'manager of funerals.'

P. 104, l. 88. *marish*, i.e. *mere-ish*, 'abounding in meres': French *marais*, Latin *mare*.

106. *destitute*, used as a transitive verb. The island of Roanoke, off the coast of North Carolina, was settled by Sir Richard Greville in 1588 and by Governor White the following year. In 1590 no trace of the colonists, nearly two hundred in number, could be found.

## ESSAY XXXIV.

### OF RICHES.

P. 105, l. 2. *impedimenta*, the Latin word for 'baggage,' signifies literally 'hindrances.'

8. *Where much is* &c. Ecclesiastes v. 11.

19. *Riches are* &c. Proverbs xviii. 11.

25. *no abstract nor friarly contempt*: Latin Version, *instar monachi alicujus aut a seculo abstracti*, 'like a monk or one who is withdrawn from ordinary life.'

27. *In studio* &c. Cicero, *Pro Rabirio*, ii. Cicero makes the remark however about the father of Rabirius Postumus.

P. 106, l. 30. *Qui festinat* &c. Proverbs xxviii. 20.

31. *The poets faigne* &c. Apparently not 'the poets' but Lucian, *Dialogues*, 'Timon,' § 20.

49. *audits*: properly the official examination of accounts, used here of the income which the accounts represent.

54. *It was truly observed by one* &c. 'Lampon, the rich merchant and shipmaster, being demanded how he got his goods: "Mary, (quoth he) my greatest wealth I gained soone and with ease, but my smaller estate with exceeding much paine and of [redacted] Quoted by Reynolds (p. 252) from Plutarch's *Morals*, Holland [redacted] p. 319.'

55. *himself*, viz. [redacted] ambiguity. 'He' might be taken to refer to [redacted]

P. 107, l. 65. *broake*, strictly, 'do business through the agency of another': cf. 'stockbroker,' 'pawnbroker.'

67. *chapmen*, those who *chap* or exchange with a view to a profit, so 'buyers': cf. German *Kaufmann*. The word *chap* appears disguised in *Cheapside*. Cf. *chopping*, l. 69.

68. *naught*, 'good for naught,' 'bad': cf. 2 Kings ii. 19, 'the water is naught'; Jeremiah xxiv. 2, 'very naughty figs.'

69. *chopping of bargaines*, the 'ingrossing' spoken of in *Ess.* 15, 161: see note p. 197.

70. *grindeth double*, i.e. presses hard on the man who sells to the speculator and on the man who afterwards buys from the speculator.

75. *in sudore &c.* Cf. Genesis iii. 19.

*doth plough upon Sundaies*. This 'witty invective against usury' (*Ess.* 41, 4) has Bacon's approbation here. As interest was paid every day of the week for money on loan, the usurer was a Sabbath-breaker.

77. *scriveners*. A *scrivener* (Late Latin *scribanus*, French *écrivain*) meant (1) 'a writer,' 'one who draws contracts,' (2) 'a broker of loans,' 'a financial agent.'

*doe vauw unsound men*, i.e. exaggerate the wealth of unsubstantial men so as to secure the commission on the loans.

81. *Canaries*: 'Sugar was introduced into the Canaries in 1507 and soon formed an important part of Bristol trade' (Abbott, *Bacon's Essays*, II. 214).

82. *as well judgement as invention*. Elsewhere Bacon enumerates the Arts of Logic as four in number, defined according to their ends: viz. Invention or Discovery, Examination or Judgment, Preservation or Retention in the Memory, and Publication or Transmission.

88. *Monopolies*. The power of the crown to issue patents conferring exclusive rights of carrying on certain trades was first protested against in 1597. In 1601 Elizabeth consented to the revocation of most of the patents. Under James I. the number was increased and the abuse of their powers by the monopolists provoked a violent outburst of indignation in the parliament of 1621. Most of the monopolies were abolished in 1624.

P. 108, l. 92. *by service*, the Latin Version adds *regum aut magnatum*, 'of kings or princes.'

92-5. *Riches gotten...the worst*. The sentence is ungrammatical, confused, and obscure. If *it* refers to 'riches,' which is singular in its origin (French *richesse*) and is used as a singular noun in the third sentence of this Essay (l. 3), it is curious that Bacon immediately afterwards

speaks of riches as *they*. Dr Abbott takes *it* as referring not to 'riches' but to 'the getting of riches,' implied in the preceding words. The Latin Version renders 'though it be of the best rise,' *digmitalem quandam habet*, 'has a certain dignity.'

97. *Testamenta &c.* Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 42. 'Tacitus does not say this of Seneca. He reports it as having been said by Publius Suillius and by others' (Reynolds, pp. 252-3).

101. *and none worse*: Latin Version, *neque invenies usquam tenaciores*, 'nor will you find more grasping people anywhere.'

102. *riches have wings*: cf. Proverbs xxiii. 5, 'for riches certainly make themselves wings; they fly away as an eagle toward heaven.'

110. *sacrifices without salt*, cf. Mark ix. 49.

*painted sepulchres*, suggested by *whited sepulchres*, Matt. xxiii. 27.

In connexion with these remarks of Bacon's on the subject of charitable bequests, his *Advice to the King touching Sutton's Estate* may be read with advantage. Sutton was the founder of the Charterhouse Hospital and School and left the bulk of his large fortune to this foundation. The will was disputed (1611) and Bacon recommended that the question should be submitted to the king for decision. The judges upheld the will, much to the popular satisfaction, and to the disappointment of the partisans of the crown (1613).

## ESSAY XXXV.

### OF PROPHECIES.

This Essay is not given in the Latin Version.

P. 109, l. 2. *naturall predictions*, e.g. of comets or eclipses, as opposed to 'prophecies from hidden causes,' in which the data are insufficiently known.

4. *Pythonissa*, the word used in the Vulgate to denote the witch whom Saul consulted (1 Chron. x. 13) *quod...insuper etiam Pythonissam consuluerit*, in the A.V. 'and also for asking counsel of one that had a familiar spirit.' In the story of the witch in 1 Samuel xxviii. 7, 8 the witch is described as *mulier*, and in Acts xvi. 16, the 'damsel possessed with a spirit of divination' is described in the original as *Pythonissa*. See INDEX.



*To morrow* &c. 1 Samuel xxviii. 19. According to the scriptural narrative Samuel delivered the prophecy, not the Pythoness.

5. *Homer hath these verses: Iliad* xx. 307—8. The lines from Virgil occur in *Æneid*, III. 97—8. Bacon has substituted *At* for *Hic*. In Virgil the passage as 'a prophecy of the Roman empire' is, of course, a prophecy after the event, and in Homer the passage says no more than this, that 'the might of Æneas shall rule over the Trojans, and generations of his posterity likewise,' which is no 'prophecy of the Roman empire' at all.

11. *Venient annis* &c. Seneca, *Medea*, II. 374—9.

17. *the daughter of Polycrates* &c. Herodotus, III. 124—5.

21. *Philip of Macedon* &c. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Alexander,' p. 459 a.

26. *A phantasme* &c. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Brutus,' p. 673 b; 'Julius Caesar,' p. 512 a.

P. 110, l. 28. *Tu quoque, Galba,* &c. Tacitus, *Annals*, VI. 20.

32. *of Vespasian*. Tacitus, *Histories*, V. 13; Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 4. *Domitian dreamed* &c. Suetonius, *Domitian*, 23.

38. *This is the lad* &c. Hall's *Chronicle*, followed by Holinshed. Cf. Shakespeare, 3 *K. Henry VI.* IV. vi. 70—4, and *Richard III.* V. iii. 128—130.

39. *When I was in France*; this was during the years 1576—8, in the household of Sir Amyas Paulet, the English ambassador. See *Essay* 28, 16, note p. 210.

40. *the Q. Mother*, Catherine de Medici; *the king her husband*, Henry II. See INDEX.

47. *triviall*, 'trite' or 'common,' as in *Ess.* 8, 71, 'a matter triviall,' and *Ess.* 12, 1, 'a triviall Grammar Schoole text'; *trivial*, lit. belonging to the cross-roads—the place where the *tres viæ* meet.

48—9. *when I was...yeares*. Bacon was born in Jan. 1560—1, Elizabeth in Sept. 1533.

57. *the king's stile*, James I's: *now no more of England*, because James was King of Scotland also. See INDEX.

P. 111, l. 62. *the Baugh and the May*, see INDEX.

68—9. *the King of Spain's surname...is Norway*. No explanation of this assertion is forthcoming.

71. *Octogessimus* &c. Regiomontanus is said, shortly before his death in 1470, to have written four lines in German predicting revolutions in 1588. These lines were latinized and extended in 1553 by Bruschius, from whose version Bacon is here quoting. See Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, pp. 262—3.

75. *Cleon's dreame*, Aristophanes, *Knights*, 197 *seqq.* There are several inaccuracies in Bacon's account of it.

95. *Seneca's verse*, *ante*, ll. 11-16.

P. 112, l. 99. *Plato's Timeus*, and his *Atlanticus*, see INDEX.

## ESSAY XXXVI.

### OF AMBITION.

1. *choler* (Greek *χολή*, 'bile') one of the four humours: see *Ess.* 8, 21, note p. 188.

4. *adust*, Latin *adustus*, 'burnt up,' a technical medical term.

9. *evill eye*, see *Ess.* 9, 8, note p. 189.

20. *never so ambitious*, in modern idiom 'ever so ambitious,' but the negative form may be justified as elliptical for 'so ambitious as was never the case before.'

P. 113, l. 23. *spurres*: so Milton, *Lycidas*, 70, 'Fame is the spur.'

26. *a seel'd dove*. To *seel* was to stitch together the eyelids of a bird. By this operation young hawks were trained to the use of the hood. It was supposed that doves thus seeled would soar straight upwards till they dropped from exhaustion. Cf. Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, III. ii. 46, 'seeling night.'

29. *as Tiberius used Macro*, Dio Cassius, LVIII. 9.

37. *to have favorites*, probably an allusion to Buckingham.

45. *inure*, i.e. 'to put in ure, or use' (cf. *Ess.* 6, 86, note, p. 187): originally 'to use,' hence its modern meaning 'to accustom to,' 'to deaden the sensibility by use.' Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VIII. 239, employs the word in the sense 'to establish by use,' 'to insure,'—'to *inure* our prompt obedience.'

P. 114, l. 54. *in a wood*. Dr Abbott (II. p. 219) compares our proverb, 'Don't holloa till you are out of the wood.'

63. *vantage ground*, cf. *Ess.* 11, 32.

66. *the best of these intentions*, viz. the desire to do good.

## ESSAY XXXVII.

## OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.

This Essay is not given in the Latin Version.

The *Masque* was a form of histrionic entertainment in vogue during the 16th and 17th centuries. It probably originated in the practice of introducing, on solemn and festive occasions, men wearing masks to represent allegorical or mythical characters. From a mere acted pageant it gradually developed into an elaborate dramatic performance in which the scenes were accompanied by music. In the hands of Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Milton, the Masque reached a high level of literary excellence. (For a more detailed account of the Masque see the note in Mr Storr's edition of Bacon's *Essays*, pp. 322-7, and in Mr Verity's edition of Milton's *Comus* (Pitt Press Series), pp. li.—lxxvi.)

A *Triumph* appears to have been a public show of some magnificence, a pageant, a spectacular display, such *e.g.* as an exhibition of masks.

1. *such serious observations, scil.* as are contained in the preceding Essays.

4. *Dancing to song, i.e.* dancing while other people sing,—a ballet accompanied by music. But the dancer is not to sing his own accompaniments: 'dancing *in* song' is condemned in the next sentence as 'a mean and vulgar thing.'

6. *aloft, i.e.* in the gallery.

P. 115, l. 7. *broken musicke*. The meaning of this term is not precisely determined. The following explanations have been offered: (1) as harps and other stringed instruments which were played without a bow were incapable of sustaining a long note to its full duration of time, music produced from them was called 'broken music'; (2) as certain instruments, such as violins, flutes, etc., were commonly played in sets of four, when they formed 'a consort,' the substitution of an instrument belonging to a different set destroyed the 'consort' and produced 'broken music.' Both of these explanations are due to Mr Chappell (*Popular Music*, I. 246), but the latter represents his mature opinion. The expression occurs in Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, I. ii. 150; *Henry V.*, v. ii. 363. In *Troilus and Cressida*, III. i. 52, there is possibly a contrast intended between 'music in parts' (l. 19) and 'broken music' (l. 52). If so, the passage lends some support to the second interpretation.

7. *ditty*, through the French, from Latin *dictum*, signified (1) the words of a song, (2) the song itself.

8. *device*, cf. *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, v. i. 50.

*Acting in song*, i.e. when the actors sing their parts as in an opera.

14. *antheme*, from *antiphon* (ἀντί, 'in return,' φωνή, 'voice'): originally a hymn sung in alternate parts.

23-6. *And let the masquers...coming down.* The masquers are to go through sundry movements in dumb-show on the stage or dais, in order to whet the curiosity of the audience. After this has been done, they are to come down (perhaps to the front of the stage, or perhaps to the floor of the hall) and speak their parts.

32. *Oes*, 'shining discs,' the plural of *O*, which was used to denote circular objects of various kinds. Cf. Shakespeare, *M. N. D.*, III. ii. 188, 'fiery oes' (of the stars); *Henry V.*, Prol. 13, to Act 1. 'this wooden O' (the theatre); *Antony and Cleopatra*, v. ii. 81, 'the little O, the earth.'

P. 116, l. 38. *antimasques*. An *antimasque* was a secondary or lesser masque which was performed, sometimes as a prelude to a masque and sometimes as an interlude between the acts, ludicrous in its character, and generally unconnected with the plot of the masque.

The derivation of the word has been variously given:—

(1) from *anti-masque*, the prefix (ἀντί, 'against') denoting opposition to the principal masque, to which it served as a foil.

(2) from *ante-masque*, because it was played 'before' the principal masque: frequently however it served as an interlude:

(3) from *antic-masque*, because *antics*, or grotesque characters, played in it. This etymology seems improbable.

39. *antiques*. The word *antique* (from Latin *antiquus*, 'ancient') signified (1) 'old-fashioned,' hence (2) 'laughable,' (3) 'a laughable person,' 'a buffoon.'

52. *Justs and Tourneys and Barriers*. A *just* or *joust* (Latin *juxta*, 'together') was a sham fight between single combatants: a *Tourney* (French *tourner*, 'to turn,' 'because it consisteth much in agilitie both of horse and man') was a sham fight between parties of combatants. *Barriers* denoted strictly the bars or lists within which the tournament was fought, and hence the fight itself.

## ESSAY XXXVIII.

## OF NATURE IN MEN.

2-3. *Force maketh...the returne*: cf. Horace, *Epist.* I. x. 24.

4-5. *custome onely...nature*: cf. the saying of Diogenes, 'Habit is second nature,' and Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III. iv. 168, 'use almost can change the stamp of nature.'

P. 117, ll. 7, 9. *often* as adjective: cf. I Timothy v. 23, 'thine often infirmities.'

15. *arrest nature in time*, i.e. gain time by checking one's natural impulse to take immediate action.

16. *four and twenty letters*, cf. *Ess.* 27, 199, note p. 214.

23. *Optimus* &c. Ovid, *Remedia Amoris*, 293 (*animi* being substituted for *sui*).

37. *Æsop's damosell*, Babrius, *Fables*, 30.

P. 118, l. 47. *Multum incola*, &c. Psalm cxx. 6, in the Vulgate, where the words form a complete sentence, and v. 7 begins, *Cum his qui oderunt pacem eram pacificus*. In the A.V. the punctuation is different and v. 6 reads, 'My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace,' v. 7, 'I am for peace.' This is one of Bacon's stock quotations and he often introduces it with impressive effect. (See Abbott, *Bacon's Essays*, vol. I. p. xxi.)

48. *converse*, for this sense cf. Philippians iii. 20, 'our conversation is in heaven.'

## ESSAY XXXIX.

## OF CUSTOME AND EDUCATION.

4. *after*: for the use of *after* with the meaning 'according to,' cf. Romans viii. 5, 'they that are after the flesh,' and the Litany, 'after our sins,' 'after our iniquities.'

5. *Macciavel*, *Discourses*, iii. 6.

P. 119, l. 13. *Baltasar Gerard*: the Latin Version adds the name of Guido Faux to the list.

26. *Indians*, Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* v. 27. Cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Alexander,' p. 486 b.

*the sect*, viz. the Gymnosophists: Plutarch, *loc. cit.* p. 484 b.

29. *lads of Sparta*, Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v. 27.

31. *queching*, rendered in the Latin Version as if it meant 'crying out,'—*vix ejaculatu aut gemitu ullo emisso*.

32. *an Irish rebell*, probably Brian O'Rourke, who took part in Tyrone's rebellion and was executed in 1597, near the end of Elizabeth's reign, not, as Bacon says, 'in the beginning.'

P. 120, l. 54. *comforteth*, from Latin *confortare* (*fortis*, 'strong') common in the Vulgate. Mr Storr quotes Isaiah xli. 7, in Wyclif's Translation, 'And he coumfortide hym with nailes.'

56. *exaltation*, 'zenith,' a metaphor from astrology.

61-2. *the most effectuell...desired*. Probably an allusion to the colleges of the Jesuits.

## ESSAY XL.

### OF FORTUNE.

5. *saith the poet*: Plautus, *Trinummus*, II. ii. 87, *Nam sapiens quidem, pol, ipse fingit fortunam sibi*. But the saying is attributed to Appius Claudius the Blind (fl. B.C. 300), the earliest Roman writer in prose and verse whose name has come down to us. (See Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, p. 284.)

P. 121, l. 8. *Serpens* &c. A Greek proverb, quoted in the *Adagia* of Erasmus.

11. *deliveries*: the Latin Version has *facultates nonnullae sese expediendi*, 'certain powers of extricating oneself from difficulties': this is the meaning of the word in *Ess.* 19, 45, but it is too narrow to suit the present context.

14. *restiveness*, lit. 'a disposition to *rest* or stay still'; so (1) 'obstinate unwillingness to move'; hence (2) 'impatience under restraint,' and consequently (3) 'restlessness,' 'indisposition to stay still,' precisely the opposite of the original sense of the word.

16. *Livie*, xxxix. 40, loosely quoted. Montaigne gives the passage correctly, *Essais*, III. 3.

P. 122, l. 47. *Caesarem* &c. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Caesar,' p. 502 a.

48-9. *Sylla...Magnus*. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Sylla,' p. 330 b.

51-5. *Timotheus...afterwards*. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Sylla,' p. 318 b.

58. *Timoleon's fortune*, Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Timoleon,' p. 185 b. Plutarch employs the illustration from *Homer's verses*.

## ESSAY XLI.

## OF USURIE.

An Act of Henry VIII.'s reign (1545) fixed the maximum rate of lawful interest at 10 per cent. By an Act of Edward VI.'s (1552) usury was absolutely prohibited as a vice most odious and detestable and contrary to the word of God. Under Elizabeth the Act of Henry VIII. was revived, though usury was at the same time declared to be a sinful and detestable thing. In 1623 the maximum rate permissible was reduced from 10 to 8 per cent. Bacon had written a paper on 'Usury and the Use thereof,' addressed to the Secretary, Sir Edward Conway, and intended for the king's inspection. With this paper the present Essay (first published in the edition of 1625) is almost identical. (See the historical note in Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, pp. 292-5, and Abbott, vol. II. pp. 226-8.) Mr Reynolds points out that the teaching of Mun's *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade* (published at about the same time as Bacon's *Essay on Usury*) is far in advance of the ideas on the subject to which Bacon gives expression. 'What Bacon pretends to do, Mun actually does. He "culls out" the good of Usury, not by assuming the equal truth of a series of contradictory propositions and gravely balancing them against each other. His more effective method is to sweep away the nonsense as nonsensical, and to lay down the truth as true' (p. 295).

P. 120, l. 3. *the tithe, i.e.* the 10 per cent. allowed by Henry VIII.'s statute.

6. *Ignavum &c. Georgics*, iv. 168.

8. *In sudore...tuum*: Genesis iii. 19, from the Vulgate.

10. *orange-tawney*. The Jews during the middle ages were compelled by law to wear a distinguishing badge, which was usually a yellow cap, or a strip of yellow felt on the front of the dress.

11. *against nature*: the objection is expressed by Aristotle, *Politics*, I. x. §§ 4, 5. Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, I. iii. 135.

13. *Concessum &c.* an allusion to Matthew xix. 8.

17. *Bankes*. Old banks, such as the Bank of Venice, the Bank of Hamburg, and the Bank of Amsterdam, came into existence to provide a remedy for the worn and clipped coinage of different nations. Unlike modern banks they added nothing to loans or currency, and they charged a percentage on their transactions to cover expenses. A bank

conducted on these principles could never break: yet the Bank of Amsterdam did break, because the reserve was lent out contrary to regulations. Before the establishment of banks in England, merchants deposited their money with the goldsmiths. The Bank of England was founded in 1694.

27. *vena porta*, see *Ess. 19*, 144, note p. 201.

P. 124, ll. 37-8. *at the end...in the box*. 'The usurer is compared to the player who keeps the bank at a game of hazard, and who commonly has the chances very much in his favour' (Reynolds, p. 297).

P. 125, l. 72. *Utopia*, a reference to Sir Thomas More's romance. See INDEX.

P. 126, l. 101. *edge*, a doublet of *egg*, meaning 'incite.'

114. *answered*: for *answer* in this sense of 'satisfying a claim,' 'paying expense,' cf. Shakespeare, 1 *Henry IV.* i. iii. 185, 'To answer all the debt he owes to you.'

124. *to colour...the country*. 'If those who are licensed to lend at 10 per cent. could borrow with a view to lending again, all money would be lent at the higher rate. This cannot happen, so long as 10 per cent. is allowed only in "certain towns of merchandizing," because people living in the country will not lend to strangers in a distant town' (Selby, *Bacon's Essays*, p. 251).

## ESSAY XLII.

### OF YOUTH AND AGE.

P. 127, l. 3. *not so wise as the second*: cf. the Greek proverb, *αι δευτεραι φρονιδες ἀρισταί*, and its English equivalent, 'Second thoughts are best.'

12. *Juventutem* &c. Spartianus, *Vita Severi*, ii. loosely quoted. 'It was in the later career of Severus rather than in his youth that he gave proof of a disordered mind' (Reynolds, p. 301).

21. *directeth them*, viz. 'old men,' implied in age.

P. 128, l. 30. *absurdly* qualifies *pursue*, not *chanced upon*.

l. 46. *A certaine Rabbine*, viz. Abravanel, a Portuguese Jew, the author of commentaries on the Old Testament and the Mishna: di. 1508.

47. *Your young men* &c. Joel ii. 28.

57. *Hermogenes*, cf. Philostratus, *Vitae Sophist.* 11. 7.



P. 120, l. 62. *Tully saith &c. Cicero, Brutus, 95.*

65. *tract of yeares*, cf. Milton's expression, *Paradise Lost*, v. 498, 'improved by tract of time.'

*Scipio Africanus*: cf. Livy, XXXVIII. 53, where it is said of Scipio that 'the former part of his life was more illustrious than the latter because in his early years wars were constantly carried on by him; with age his exploits faded away, as occasions did not occur to call forth the exercise of his talents.'

66. *Ultima primis cedebant*, Ovid, *Heroides*, IX. 23. In the original, 'Coepisti melius quam desinis; ultima primis Cedunt.'

## ESSAY XLIII.

### OF BEAUTY.

'The word *Beauty* is used in this Essay in several different senses. It stands first as exquisiteness of face or form; it is presently said rather to consist in decent and gracious motion than in anything else. So understood, it is set down as a special attribute of the old rather than of the young, as proper to the autumn of life, and as hardly indeed to be attributed to the young at all. Then, in the next sentence, after this assertion of its essentially enduring character, it is said to be as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt and cannot last' (Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, pp. 305-6).

10. *Augustus Caesar*, Suetonius, *Augustus*, 79.

*Titus Vespasianus*, Suetonius, *Titus*, 3.

11. *Alcibiades*, Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Alcibiades,' p. 142 b.

16-8. *That is the best part...of the life: i.e.* A picture cannot represent what is really the most important element of beauty, nor can we fully appreciate this element at the first glimpse of a beautiful person.

20. *Apelles*, a mistake for *Zeuxis* (see INDEX). Cicero, *De Inventiones*, II. i, 1; Pliny, *N. H.* XXXV. 9.

*Albert Durer, De Symmetria Partium humani corporis.*

P. 120, ll. 25-8. *Not but I thinke...by rule.* Thus versified by Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, 143-5:

'Music resembles Poetry; in each  
Are nameless graces which no methods teach,  
And which a master-hand alone can reach.'

28. *faces that*: *that* may be regarded either as a conjunction, 'such faces that,' or as the relative pronoun, 'faces which,' with *them* as a redundant object.

33. *Pulchrorum* &c. Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Alcibiades,' p. 142 b, where the saying is attributed to Euripides, not however with the sense in which Bacon quotes it. Euripides said that 'of forms once fair *even* the autumn is beautiful.'

39. *it maketh vertues shine and vices blush*. This passage is obscure by reason of its epigrammatic form. It is easy to understand that beauty in a virtuous person sets off his virtues and renders them conspicuous. But if we ask whose are the vices that blush, the question may be answered in different ways:

(1) beauty in the possessor makes him blush at his own vices and therefore avoid them:

(2) when beauty and virtue are conjoined they cause vice to appear hideous and to blush in other people:

(3) Mr Reynolds takes the qualifying clause 'if it light well' as applying only to the words immediately following, 'it maketh virtues shine,' and understands 'vices blush' as an independent statement: 'Beauty is in the nature of a disgrace to the vicious.'

## ESSAY XLIV.

### OF DEFORMITY.

Bacon was thought by some of his contemporaries to have aimed a stroke at his cousin Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, in this Essay. The Earl died in 1612, a few months before the publication of the second edition of the *Essays*.

2-3. *For as Nature...by Nature*: i.e. Nature has treated them badly, and they treat Nature badly in return, by showing a lack of the ordinary feelings of humanity.

4. *void of naturall affection*, ἀστροφῶς, Romans i. 31; 2 Timothy iii. 3.

P. 101, ll. 10-11. *the starres...of discipline*. The illustration has a double reference:

(1) education can prove stronger than natural disposition, as sunlight is stronger than starlight:

(2) natural disposition is represented by 'the stars' because, according to astrology, a man's natural disposition was determined by the conjunction of planets under which he was born.

22-7. *Againe...possession.* The too liberal use of the pronouns *they* and *them* obscures the meaning of the sentence.

P. 182, l. 39. *Agesilaus*, Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Agesilaus,' p. 411 a.

40. *Æsop.* 'Tis certain he was no deformed person; and 'tis probable he was very handsome' (Bentley, *Dissertation upon the Fables of Æsop*, §§ 9, 10).

'For grandeur—not to say, insolence—of manner, admirable as a piece of art, what could be more impressive than the end of the *Essay Of Deformity*?...It is as if Bacon were calling up before him the spirits of the mighty dead, and were judging them on their merits, and assigning his proper place to each in an off-hand sort of way, with an easy air of admitted superiority and of full right to pronounce' (Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, Introd. p. xxi.).

## ESSAY XLV.

### OF BUILDING.

For an account of Elizabethan architecture see J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People*, pp. 388-9.

2. *uniformitie*, Latin Version *pulchritudini*.

P. 188, l. 22. *having the commoditie*, properly 'not having'; so Latin Version *nulla commoditas*. Bacon is enumerating the drawbacks, not the advantages. This passage is loose in construction, though its sense is plain.

25. *lurcheth*, from Latin *lurcare*, 'to eat voraciously.'

26-7. *where a man...scanted.* These words apparently explain the drawback of living in the neighbourhood of a great city, 'where a man may starve in the midst of plenty.' The Latin Version, however, renders them differently.

32. *Lucullus answered Pompey well*: Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Lucullus,' p. 358 b.

50. *the Booke of Hester*, Esther i. 5.

53. *not only returnes...front, i.e.* The wings are not to be treated as altogether independent of the front. Their style and elevation are to be in keeping with the style and elevation of the front on which they depend.

P. 124, l. 62. *at the first*, either (1) 'beginning at the tower,' as opposed to 'at the further end,' or (2) 'as the primary division,' the parlours being a secondary matter. The Latin Version has *praecipue*, 'especially.'

70. *a goodly leads*: the noun is plural in form, but is used here as collective and singular.

74. *newell*, 'the upright cylinder or pillar from which the steps of a winding stair radiate': perhaps derived like *nucleus*, 'the kernel of a fruit or nut,' from *nux*.

P. 135, l. 100. *without thorow lights*, Latin Version *non translucida*. For *thorough* and *through*, see *Ess.* 5, 20, note p. 186.

P. 136, l. 124. *paved as the other court was*, i.e. with paved walks round and across and four square plots of grass in the interior.

129. *anticamera* should be spelt *antecamera*, as in the Latin Version.

## ESSAY XLVI.

### OF GARDENS.

P. 137, l. 1. *a garden*, viz. of Eden. Genesis ii. 8.

6. *stately* as an adverb: cf. *Ess.* 1. 20.

P. 138, l. 31. *dammasin*, i.e. 'damascene' or 'damson,' from *Damascus*, whence also *damask*.

43. *ginnitings* or 'jennetings': the name is derived from *Jean*, 'St John's apple,' because it ripens in some parts of France as early as St John Baptist's Day, June 24th. A popular but exploded etymology makes it a corruption of *June-eating*.

44. *apricocks*. The history of the words *apricock* and *apricot* is curious. From the Latin *praecox* or *praecoquus* (from which we obtain our modern *precocious*) signifying 'early ripe,' the late Greek *πραικόκκια* was borrowed. This passed into Arabic, with the definite article prefixed, as *al barquq*, which the Portuguese transferred as *albricoque*. The form in *apr-* is due perhaps to a fancied connexion with the Latin *apricus*, 'sunny,' as if in *aprico coctus*, 'ripened in a sunny place.'

47. *melo-cotones*, Greek *μήλον Κυδωνίων*, 'the Cydonian apple,' or 'quince,' Latinized as *malum cotoneum*. Cydonia was a town in Crete.

48. *wardens*: the term *warden* is usually explained as meaning 'keeping,' cf. Old French *poire de garde*. A 'warden,' however, is one who keeps, not one who can be kept, and the application in this sense

to a pear seems unsuitable. Perhaps *warden* in 'warden pear' is a variant of *garden*.

49. *services*, Latin *sorbus*, the sorb or service tree.

50. *hollyokes*. The word *hock* means 'a mallow': *hollyhock* is said to represent *holy hock*, the adjective having been added because the flower was brought from the Holy Land.

53. *ver perpetuum*: Virgil has the expression *ver assiduum*: *Georgics*, II. 149.

P. 140, l. 103. *knots*, generally 'flower-beds,' here 'beds of earth.' Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV. 242, 'In beds and curious knots'; Shakespeare, *Richard II.* III. iv. 46; *Love's Lab. Lost*, I. i. 249.

119. *gently slope*: for *slope* as adjective cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV. 261, 'the slope hills'; *Comus*, 98, 'the slope sun.'

122. *to leave*, an anacoluthon.

## ESSAY XLVII.

### OF NEGOCIATING.

P. 145, l. 15. *successe*, formerly of neutral meaning, 'issue,' not necessarily 'favourable issue'; cf. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, v. iii. 66, 'good success.'

27-30. *It is better...short question*. Cf. *Ess.* 22, 107-113.

32-8. *If a man deale...the honestest man*. Thus, if I consent to do something for you on condition that you will do something for me, the important point to be settled is this,—which of us shall perform his service first, as the other may back out of the bargain when he has got what he wanted. Now you may be willing to take the first step (1) if the act which you have undertaken naturally precedes mine, or (2) if I can convince you that I shall need your help again and shall therefore not be likely to play you false this time, or (3) if I can satisfy you that my reputation for honourable dealing stands high.

## ESSAY XLVIII.

### OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

P. 146, ll. 1-3. *while a man...shorter*. A large retinue impairs a man's power, as a peacock's tail impedes its flight.

P. 147, l. 21. *commonly exchange tales*: Bacon means, 'No doubt they carry gossip about you to other people, but then they bring gossip about other people to you.'

25. *civill*, lit. 'befitting a citizen,' so 'decent,' 'orderly.' Latin Version *pro re decora habitum est*. Yet the judicial authority of the Star Chamber court was revived under Henry VII. for the purpose of checking the abuses of Liveries and Maintenance.

28. *apprehendeth*, Latin Version *ut quis patronum se profiteatur*, 'assumes the office' (of advancing virtue), 'aims' (at promoting virtue). But the word may also be understood here 'knows how' (to advance virtue).

31. *passable*, 'commonplace': Bacon lays it down that to engage a man who is just good enough for his work is, in ordinary cases, the best policy.

33. *vertuous*, i.e. 'able,' the 'more passable' and 'more able' men of the preceding sentence having their counterparts in the 'active men' and 'virtuous' men of this. But the Latin Version interprets the word as signifying moral virtue, *vera virtute praediti*. Cf. *Ess.* 14, 37, where 'more virtuous' signifies 'more able.'

37. *in favour* as distinguished from 'in government.'

P. 148, ll. 51-2. *the vale...the hill*. The best view of the mountain is obtained from the valley. Similarly the impartial spectator can judge of the business in hand better than the man who is carrying it on.

53-4. *which was wont to be magnified*: Aristotle, *Eth. Nicom.* IX.

8. Cf. Johnson, *Rambler*, No. 64.

54. *That that is is*, an awkward collocation.

55-6. *whose fortunes...the other*, i.e. The good fortune of the superior comprehends or includes the good fortune of the inferior.

## ESSAY XLIX.

### OF SUTOURS.

11. *to make an information*: cf. the technical phrase 'to lay an information.' Bacon probably means 'to divulge something' to a man's detriment. Mr Reynolds however interprets the expression as follows: —'to gain information' about some matter which they could not otherwise find an apt pretext for inquiring about. For *make* in the sense of

'gain' he compares the phrase 'to make money' (*Bacon's Essays*, p. 337).

P. 149, ll. 19, 20. *a sute of controversie...a sute of petition: e.g.* A dispute as to the ownership of a house, or as to liability for damage, would be a *suit of controversy*. An application for a vacant post would be a *suit of petition*.

34-9. *In sutes of favour...of the note.* A concrete example will make Bacon's meaning clearer. If a person learns from a private source that the secretaryship to a company will shortly become vacant, and asks a director to support his candidature, this priority of application ought not indeed to count in his favour, but at the same time the director must not use the information, which he has thus obtained, for the purpose of starting a candidate of his own.

P. 150, l. 54. *Iniquum* &c. Quintilian, *De Instit. Orat.* IV. 5, § 16: in the original *petendum* for *petas*.

56-9. *for he that...former favour.* A patron is not likely to discard his client after supporting him to a certain extent, for, if he does so, he loses not only the client but also the sacrifices which he has already made on the client's behalf.

## ESSAY I.

### OF STUDIES.

Macaulay (*Essays*, 'Bacon,' vol. I. p. 412) quotes ll. 16 to 23 and ll. 31 to 39 from this Essay as a passage 'to be chewed and digested,' adding, 'We do not believe that Thucydides himself has anywhere compressed so much thought into so small a space.'

P. 151, l. 31. *flashy* (cf. Milton, *Lycidas*, 123, 'lean and flashy songs'), Latin Version *insipidi*. The radical idea conveyed by *flash* is 'suddenness,' and hence 'momentariness.' Thus 'for a flash' (*Ess.* 20, 211) means 'for a short time.' Accordingly *flashy* may mean 'momentary' as opposed to 'permanent'; hence 'showy' as opposed to 'durable'; and hence generally 'unsound.' (See Abbott, *Bacon's Essays*, II. p. 248.)

P. 152, l. 39. *Abundant* &c. Ovid, *Heroides*, xv. 83.

49. *the Schoole-men*: see INDEX.

50. *Cymini sectores*, 'dividers of cummin seeds.' But the Greek

κνμνονπλστυς means 'a niggard,' 'a skinflint' (Aristot. *Eth. Nicom.* IV. 1. 39), not 'a hair-splitter,' the sense which Bacon gives to its Latin equivalent.

*beat over*: a metaphor from hunting: cf. *Ess.* 22, 110.

52. *let him study the lawyers' cases*, because in the lawyers' cases he will see how precedents are sought for far and wide, to illustrate the matter in question.

## ESSAY LI.

### OF FACTION.

P. 153, l. 9. *Meane*, from A.S. *gemaene*, German *gemein*, 'common,' so 'low,' 'base.' The word *mean* signifying 'intermediate,' 'moderate,' is from the Late Latin *medianus*, French *moyen*.

13. *a man of the one faction which*; the relative *which* refers to *man*, not to *faction*.

32. *casheer'd*. The termination of *cashier* is due to its form in the Dutch from which we took the word, *casseren*, German *cassiren*, 'to discard.' The root *cash* is connected with the French *casser*, 'to break,' Latin *cassus*, 'empty,' 'void.'

P. 154, l. 37-8. *lightly goeth away with it*: *lightly* may be understood to mean either 'generally,' or 'easily': the Latin Version takes it in the former sense, *plerumque rem obtinet*, the French Version in the latter, *facilement emporte le prix*. For the use of *lightly* signifying 'generally' or 'usually,' cf. Shakespeare, *Richard III.* III. i. 94.

*it* is used indeterminately: cf. our expression 'to get the best of *it*.'

51. *tanquàm unus ex nobis*, Genesis iii. 22, from the Vulgate, 'Behold, the man is become as one of us.'

52. *the league of France*, viz. the Holy League. See *Ess.* 15, 46, note, p. 195.

59. *Primum Mobile*, see *Ess.* 15, 56, note p. 196.

## ESSAY LII.

### OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

P. 155, l. 3. *foile* (from Latin *folium*, 'a leaf'), the thin leaf of metal in which a stone is set to improve its lustre. For the illustration cf. *Ess.* 42, 1.

11. *Queene Isabella*: see INDEX. Bacon has modified the saying



to suit the context. The queen's apophthegm referred not to 'good forms' but to 'good looks.' Publius Syrus (fl. B.C. 50) said the same thing, *Formosa facies muta commendatio est*, 'A fair face is a silent recommendation.'

P. 156, l. 49. *He that considereth* &c. Ecclesiastes xi. 4.

52. *point device*, 'precisely fashioned,' 'faultless.' The meaning of the phrase is clear, though its origin is uncertain. Derivations suggested are (1) O. Fr. *à point devis*, 'according to a point (of exactitude) that is devised or imagined,' hence 'in the best way imaginable,' (2) *point de vice*, 'without fault.' For the use of the expression cf. *As You Like It*, III. ii. 401, and *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. i. 21.

## ESSAY LIII.

### OF PRAISE.

P. 157, l. 9. *Species virtutibus similes*. Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 48.

14. *Nomen bonum* &c. Ecclesiastes vii. 1, inaccurately from the Vulgate. In the A.V. 'A good name is better than precious ointment.'

18. *a suspect*, i.e. a suspected thing. The word is similarly used in *Ess.* 24, 37.

22. *arch-flatterer*: cf. *Ess.* 10, 27, and 27, 178.

P. 158, l. 30. *Laudando præcipere*: cf. Pliny, *Epist.* III. 18.

34. *Pessimum* &c. Tacitus, *Agricola*, 41; in the original, *laudantes*.

35. *He that was praised* &c. Theocritus, *Idylls*, XII. 24; cf. *ibid.*

IX. 30.

40. *He that praiseth* &c. Proverbs xxvii. 14.

43, 45. *a man's*, i.e. 'one's own.'

45. *he may do it*, an anacoluthon, unless we take *to praise* as equivalent to 'as regards praising.'

46. *with a kinde of magnanimitie*, because people may suppose that any eminence which he has acquired is due not to himself but to his office.

46-9. *The Cardinals...civill businesse*. Bacon's meaning is that the cardinals magnify the clerical calling by running down the professions of the laity.

52. *catchpoles*, 'constables,' in Bacon's time a term of contempt, but originally used without disparagement of those who arrested men on any cause. The word is derived (1) from *catch* and *pole* or *poll*, 'the

head' or 'person,' either because these officers laid hold of a man by the neck, or because they caught and *polled* him, *i.e.* plundered him, lit. cut out the hair from his poll, sheared him. Cf. *Ess.* 56, 101, 'catching and poling clerkes.' The *New Dictionary* however assigns to the word (2) a Provençal origin, from Mediæval Latin *chacepollus*, lit. 'chase-fowl.'

P. 159, l. 55. *I speake like a foole*, 2 Corinthians xi. 23.

56. *Magnificabo apostolatam meum*, Romans xi. 13, 'Inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office.'

## ESSAY LIV.

### OF VAINE-GLORY.

1. *Æsop*: L'Estrange assigns the fable to Abstemius (Reynolds, p. 357). Cf. Phaedrus, *Fables*, III. 6.

6-7. *They that are glorious...comparisons*. Boastful men are always looking out for an opportunity of exalting themselves or their party at the expense of their rivals.

12. *civill*, opposed here to military, in *Ess.* 53, 49, to clerical. In like manner we employ the word to denote non-ecclesiastical, non-military, non-naval.

15-6. *Antiochus and the Ætolians*, see INDEX. The reference appears to be to Livy, XXXV. 12, or 49.

23-4. *somewhat is produced of nothing*, in spite of the principle *ex nihilo nihil fit*.

P. 160, l. 27. *iron sharpens iron*, Proverbs xxvii. 17.

33. *Qui de &c.* Cicero, *Tusculan Disp.* I. 15, loosely quoted.

37-8. *Virtue was never...second hand*. Bacon's meaning in this obscure sentence seems to be this: 'Virtue derives her glory from her own character at first hand, not at second hand from the praises of men.' Latin Version, *Neque virtus ipsa tantum humanæ naturæ debet, propter nominis sui celebrationem, quantum sibi ipsi*.

The following verbal points should be noticed: *beholding* stands for 'beholden,' as in *Ess.* 10, 1; *as* is used for 'that'; and *Virtue* is personified as masculine: we should now say 'her due,' not 'his due.'

41. *seelings*. This word denoted coverings in a room, whether wainscoting, flooring, or what we call ceiling. It may be derived from

(1) *seel*, i.e. *seal*, 'to close up what is open,' or (2) French *ciel* (Latin *calum*), 'a canopy.' Its connexion (whether real or wrongly supposed) with *ciel* accounts for the modern spelling *ceiling*.

44. *Omnium quae* &c. Tacitus, *Histories*, II. 80.

50. *Plinius Secundus*, i.e. Pliny the Younger. The passage of which Bacon gives a paraphrase occurs in the *Epist.* VI. 17. Pliny's remark applies however to a particular occasion and is not intended to express a general principle.

P. 161, l. 59. *the idols of parasites*: Latin Version *parasitis praedae et escae*, 'a prey and food for flatterers.'

## ESSAY LV.

### OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

1. *The winning of honour*; in the MS. of 1612, 'the true winning of honour,' which is in conformity with the Latin Version *vera et jure optimo acquisitio*, 'the true and proper winning.'

Bacon means, 'Honour is fairly won when a man gives an accurate impression of his worth. Now the impression given by some people is inaccurate because their actions are done for effect, and the impression given by others is inaccurate because they modestly hide their merits.'

P. 162, l. 18. *gained and broken upon another*. The metaphor in *broken upon* is obscure, but it probably has reference to the diamond of the illustration. A diamond is dull till it has been 'cut with facets' against another diamond. Similarly, a man's reputation lacks brilliance till he shines at the expense of a competitor. Dr Abbott gives alternative interpretations, some of which seem far-fetched (*Bacon's Essays*, vol. II. p. 258).

21-2. *out-shooting them...in their owne boue*, i.e. beating them in their own subject, or, as we say, on their own ground.

23. *Oninis fama* &c. Q. Cicero, *De Petitione Consulatus*, V. 17, loosely quoted. (Quintus Cicero was the younger brother of Marcus Tullius Cicero, the orator, to whom this work was addressed.)

26-8. *by attributing...or policy*: cf. *Ess.* 40, 42-4.

45. *Patres Patriae*. The title *Pater Patriae* was conferred on Roman citizens who had done eminent service to their country.

48. *Participes Curarum*, cf. *Ess.* 27, 54.

P. 168, l. 36. *negotiis pares*, cf. *Ess.* 29, 23.

## ESSAY LVI.

## OF JUDICATURE.

11. *Cursed &c.* Deuteronomy xxvii. 17.

P. 164, l. 17. *Fons turbatus &c.* Proverbs xxv. 26, modified to suit the present context.

23. *There be &c.* Amos v. 7.

30. *spewed out*: cf. Revelation iii. 16.

32-3. *as God useth...downe hills.* Isaiah xl. 3, 4.

38. *Qui fortiter &c.* Proverbs xxx. 33.

46. *Pluet super &c.* Psalm xi. 6.

P. 165, l. 52. *Judicis officium &c.* Ovid, *Tristia*, I. i. 37.

59. *well tuned cymball*: cf. Psalm cl. 5. Mr Reynolds suggests that Bacon's remarks on 'over-speaking' in a judge are aimed at his old enemy Coke.

75. *represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest*: James iv. 6; 1 Peter v. 5.

P. 166, l. 84. *conceit* and in the following line *civill* are used almost in their modern sense.

88. *chop*, 'to exchange' (cf. *Ess.* 34, 67, note, p. 220), here 'to exchange words'; still used in the phrase 'to chop logic.'

96. *foot-pace*: variously interpreted as landing, lobby, dais, vestibule, carpet. The Latin Version renders the word by *subsellia*, 'seats,' the French Version by *les degrés*, 'steps.'

*precincts* and *purprise* appear to signify the same thing: *precinct* from Lat. *praecingo*, 'to gird round,' 'to enclose'; *purprise* from French *pourpris*, 'an enclosure.'

98. *Grapes &c.* Matthew vii. 16.

101. *poling*, i.e. 'cutting the hair from the poll or head,' 'shearing,' so 'plundering': similarly *poler* (*infra*, l. 119) and *catchpole*; see *Ess.* 53, 52, note, p. 238.

P. 167, l. 116. *sinister*: see *Ess.* 22, 1, note, p. 204.

129. *Salus Populi suprema lex*, Cicero, *de Legibus*, III. 3, 8; not however a quotation from the *Twelve Tables*. The Decemvirs in B.C. 451 drew up a Code of Ten Tables in which justice was dealt out impartially to patricians and plebeians. The following year two new Tables were added to the Code, making twelve in all, but these

new laws were of an oppressive kind and confirmed the patricians in their most odious privileges.

145. *the spirits and sinewes*: cf. *Ess.* 9, 16, note, p. 189.

P. 108, l. 146. *that one moves with the other*: we may understand *that* as a conjunction, 'so that one moves with the other,' or as a relative pronoun, 'which move one with the other.'

147-8. *Salomon's throne...lions*, as described in 1 Kings x. 19, 20.

155. *Nos scimus* &c. 1 Timothy i. 8.

## ESSAY LVII.

### OF ANGER.

Dr Abbott points out (*Bacon's Essays*, vol. II. pp. 264-5) that throughout this Essay Bacon uses the word *Anger* to denote the passionate feeling excited by wrongs done to *oneself*. He makes no reference to the virtuous anger—the 'resentment' of Butler—excited not by wrong done to *oneself*, but by *wrong*.

2. *Stoicks*, see INDEX.

*better oracles*: cf. Romans iii. 2, 'unto them were committed the oracles of God.'

*Be angry* &c. Ephesians iv. 26.

14. *That anger* &c. Seneca, *De Ira*, l. 1.

*ruine* signifies here 'the falling thing,' a Latinism.

15. *upon that it falls*: i.e. 'upon that *upon which* it falls': there is an ellipsis not only of the relative but also of the preposition by which the relative is governed. Mr Reynolds takes *falls*, however, in a transitive sense, 'upon that which it causes to fall, i.e. overthrows.' If the word is interpreted thus, the only ellipsis is that of the relative pronoun.

*to possesse our soules* &c. Luke xxi. 19.

P. 109, l. 19. *animasque* &c. Virgil, *Georgics*, IV. 238.

23-4. *Onely men must...with feare*: i.e. If, however, men feel anger and restrain themselves from displaying it, they must be careful to show that it is contempt for their antagonist, rather than fear of the consequences, which keeps them calm.

38. *of the touch*, cf. *Ess.* 32, 47, 'speech of touch.'

41. *Telam* &c. In the *Charge touching Duels* (1613) Bacon puts the saying more clearly: 'it were good that men did hearken to the

saying of Consalvo, the great and famous commander, that was wont to say, "a gentleman's honour should be *de tela crassiore*," of a good strong warp or web, that every little thing should not catch in it.'

## ESSAY LVIII.

## OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

P. 170, l. 1. *There is no new thing* &c. Ecclesiastes i. 9.

2. *That all knowledge* &c. Plato, *Phaedo* 72 E; *Meno* 81 D.

4. *That all noveltie* &c. Ecclesiastes i. 11, 'There is no remembrance of former things.' The words which Bacon attributes to Solomon express to some extent the drift of verses 9—11, but they are too wide of the mark to be regarded as a quotation or even as a paraphrase.

5—6. *the river of Lethe...below*: i.e. there is a power of oblivion in the upper world as well as in the infernal regions.

6. *astrologer*: Mr Reynolds suggests Telesius, *De Rerum Natura*, I. 10.

P. 171, l. 16. *Phaeton's carre went but a day*. It is curious to find 'Phaeton's car' mentioned in juxtaposition with 'the three years' drought in the time of Elias,' as if the incidents connected with each were equally matters of fact. The Latin Version is more careful in its wording: *Fabula Phaetontis brevitatem conflagrationis...repraesentavit*, 'The fable of Phaethon represents the brief duration of the conflagration.'

17. *in the time of Elias*, 1 Kings xvii., xviii.

19. *in the West Indies*: Bacon means the whole western world, including North and South America.

30. *the Egyptian priest told Solon*, Plato, *Timaeus*, 25 D.

39. *Macciavel, Discourses*, II. 5.

P. 172, l. 48. *Plato's great yeare*: Plato, *Timaeus*, 38: cf. Virgil, *Eclogues*, IV. 5; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II. 20. The term denotes the period or cycle at the end of which all the heavenly bodies will have arrived at the points from which they started. 'Plato's great year' was calculated at 12000 years or upwards.

51. *influences*, an astrological term: cf. *Ess.* 9, 9, note p. 189.

66—7. *they call it the Prime*, perhaps, Dr Abbott suggests, because it was the 'first' and smallest cycle compared with other cycles such as the Century and Plato's Great Year.

71. *orbs*. The metaphor is astronomical. As the planets are moved by the spheres in which they are fixed (see *Ess.* 15, 56, note, p. 196), so are men's minds moved by religious beliefs.

72-3. *built upon the rock*, cf. Matthew xvi. 18.

P. 178, ll. 86-9. *The one is...voluptuous life*. Bacon seems to have in view the Anabaptists as well as the followers of Mahomet.

91. *Arrians, Arminians*: see INDEX.

P. 174, ll. 115-7. *East and West...observation, i.e.* East and West are purely relative terms, so we cannot state a definite law respecting the eastward or westward movement of nations in war.

118-20. *it hath seldome...contrariwise*. Mr Storr says, 'the Arab invasions are a notable exception to Bacon's induction, which nevertheless generally holds good.'

121-2. *the northern tract...martiall region*: cf. Lucan, VIII. 363-6.

130-4. *great empires...prey*. Thus, for example, the Roman occupation of Britain paved the way for the English conquest.

P. 178, l. 158. *it, viz.* the subject of vicissitudes in weapons.

160-1. *certain it is...Oxidrakes*: Mr Reynolds says 'this certainty seems to be based upon no better authority than a conversation between Apollonius Tyaneus and an Indian king, recorded by Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, II. 14.'

163-4. *the use of ordnance...yeares*. That the Chinese and Indians understood the use of gunpowder at a very early period is believed by experts.

166. *for that outruns the danger, sc.* by striking the enemy before he is near enough to strike you.

P. 178, l. 188. *reduced*, opposed to 'luxuriant,' i.e. 'with its youthful luxuriance pruned away,' so 'trained,' 'confined within bounds,' 'exact.'

## ESSAY OF FAME.

This Fragment was first published by Dr Rawley, 1657.

3-11. *They say...great citties*. For this passage cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV. 175-190.

P. 177, l. 17. *masculine and feminine*: cf. *Ess.* 15, 22.

22. *the Politiques*, a Graecism, τὰ πολιτικά.

*place*, cf. *Ess.* 22, 5, *commonplaces*, note, p. 218.

32. *Mucianus undid Vitellius*: Tacitus, *Histories*, II. 80.

40. *would forsake him*: Caes. *De Bello Civili*, I. 6; Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Julius Caesar,' p. 499 *b*.

41-3. *Livia...amendment*: Tacitus, *Annals*, I. 5.

44. *Basshawes*. The words *bashaw*, *pasha*, *pacha*, are various forms in which we write the Pers. *padshah*, 'a prince' or 'governor.'

45. *Jannizaries*, see INDEX.

P. 178, ll. 47-50. *Themistocles...Hellespont*: Herodotus, VIII. 108-9; Plutarch, *Lives*, 'Themistocles,' p. 91 *b*.



# INDEX

## OF PROPER NAMES WHICH OCCUR IN BACON'S ESSAYS.

- \* \* The numerals enclosed within square brackets indicate the Essay and Line where Bacon's mention of the Proper Name will be found.

**Abel**, killed by his brother Cain [9, 69].

**Actium**, a promontory in Epirus. Here Octavian, afterwards the emperor Augustus, defeated Mark Antony, B.C. 31, with the result that he became master of the Roman world [29, 283].

**Adrian** (Publius Ælius Hadrianus), the fourteenth Roman emperor, b. A.D. 76, reigned A.D. 117—138. He was a patron of literature and art, but showed jealousy of those who pursued these subjects successfully [9, 59]. In A.D. 120 he visited Britain and constructed a wall from the Solway Firth to the Tyne.

**Æneas** [35, 7], son of Venus and Anchises, the hero of Virgil's epic and the ancestor of the Roman people.

**Æsop**, an emancipated slave, is said to have been born in Phrygia, and to have acquired his Greek education at Athens. Flourished B.C. 570. The extant fables bearing his name are spurious. Babrius (fl. circ. B.C. 50) versified the fables of Æsop in Greek, and of this rendering a few examples are preserved. Phædrus is the best known Latin writer of Æsopian fables. Bacon refers to Æsop's fables of the cock and the gem [13, 36], of the damsel who had been a cat [38, 37], and of the fly on the wheel [54, 1]. He also cites Æsop as an instance of deformity [44, 40], but this alleged deformity is an invention of late writers.

**Æthiopes**, inhabitants of Æthiopia, an undefined district of Africa, north of the equator: hence, 'blackamoors' [37, 40].

**Ætolians** [54, 16]. Ætolia was a district in Central Greece, south of Thessaly and Epirus.

**Africa**, its rivers [58, 35].

**Agamemnon**, commander-in-chief of the Greek forces, made preparations for the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia to Diana [3, 128], who was detaining the Greeks by contrary winds at Aulis, in Bœotia, when they were on their way to Troy.

**Agellaus**, king of Sparta, B.C. 398—361; a model of the Spartan virtues, though of low stature and lame of one leg [9, 49; 44, 39]. Bacon quotes Plutarch respecting his laborious warfare [40, 58].

**Agrippa**, Marcus Vipsanius, b. B.C. 63, di. B.C. 12: general of the Roman armies and friend of Augustus, whose daughter Julia he married [27, 82].

**Alcibiades**, b. B.C. 450, di. B.C. 404; an Athenian general during the Peloponnesian War; distinguished for his beauty, wealth, and talents, as well as for his want of fixed principle [43, 11].

**Alcoran** (*al*, Arabic article, 'the,' *qoran*, 'book,' 'reading'), the Koran, contains the religious and moral code of the Mahomedans, and consists of revelations uttered by Mahomet in the course of many years and written on loose leaves, the collection of which was completed after his death [16, 2].

**Alexander**, surnamed the Great, b. B.C. 356, di. B.C. 323, son of Philip, king of Macedon. He overthrew the immense host of Darius, B.C. 331, at Gaugamela, some miles distant from Arbela [29, 60]. Bacon alludes to the superstition and melancholy which beset him during his last years [19, 27].

**Almaigne**, Germany, the land of the Alemanni, French *Allemagne* [58, 136].

**Alphonsus** (Alfonso X., the Learned), became king of Leon and Castile, A.D. 1252, and was dethroned by his son, 1282. The code of laws, which is called from its seven divisions *Las Siete Partidas*, and forms the basis of Spanish jurisprudence, though completed in 1265, was not established as the law of the land until 1348 [55, 35].

**America**, its discovery foretold in Seneca's verses [35, 17].

**Anabaptists**, a term denoting those Christians who regard baptism during infancy as invalid, and require adults to be baptized before joining their communion. The name is applied historically to the followers of Münzer, leader of the Peasants' War in Germany, who was killed A.D. 1525, and to those of John Matthias and John of Leyden, who tried to establish the socialistic kingdom of New Zion at Münster in Westphalia, and were defeated in 1535. Their adherents were put down with great severity [3, 137].

**Andes**, a range of mountains in Peru [58, 36].

**Anselm** succeeded Lanfranc as Abp of Canterbury, A.D. 1093, after an interval of four years, during which William II. appropriated the revenues of the vacant see. The king's violence drove Anselm abroad in 1097, and it was not until after the accession of Henry I. that the primate returned to England. The dispute about investiture was then renewed, and in 1103 Anselm was obliged again to quit the country [19, 119]. Three years later a compromise was effected. Anselm died A.D. 1109.

**Antiochus**, surnamed the Great, was King of Syria, B.C. 223—187. The Ætolians, who had received assurances of the support of Antiochus,

were induced to attack the Romans, and Antiochus, who had received assurances of the strength of the Ætolians, was induced to support them in their revolt [54, 15]. Antiochus was defeated by the Romans at Thermopylae, B.C. 191, and at Magnesia in a second campaign the following year.

**Antonius**, Marcus, b. B.C. 86, committed suicide, B.C. 30. He was distinguished as the friend and companion in arms of Julius Caesar. After Caesar's assassination, B.C. 44, the Second Triumvirate was formed, consisting of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus. The Republican party was overthrown by the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, B.C. 42. Lepidus was deprived of his share in the government, B.C. 36, and a rupture took place between Octavian and Antony, B.C. 33 [51, 27]. Antony surrendered himself to the blandishments of Cleopatra [10, 10] and was defeated at the battle of Actium, B.C. 31. Bacon quotes an expression of Antony's regarding Decimus Brutus [27, 79].

**Apelles**, the most celebrated painter of antiquity, fl. B.C. 340. He enjoyed the patronage of Alexander the Great, at whose court he spent many years of his life [43, 10]. Bacon mentions Apelles by mistake for Zeuxis, *q.v.*

**Apollo**, son of Jupiter and Latona, was the god of divination, archery, healing, and poetry [16, 48; 35, 19].

**Apollonius Tyanaeus**, a Pythagorean philosopher, b. at Tyana in Cappadocia, circ. B.C. 4. He lived an ascetic life [27, 13], travelled far, and acquired a reputation for supernatural powers. Apollonius was visited at Alexandria by Vespasian [19, 36], who was at that time preparing his revolt.

**Appius Claudius** [10, 11], see **Claudius**.

**Arabians**, their westward movement in war [58, 111].

**Arbela**, a town of Assyria which gave its name to the battle-field where the immense host of Darius was defeated by Alexander, B.C. 331 [29, 59].

**Argus** [21, 24], the hundred-eyed keeper of Io, after she had been changed by Jupiter into a heifer. At Jupiter's bidding Mercury slew Argus, whose hundred eyes were thereupon placed by Juno in the tail of the peacock.

**Arians** derive their name from Arius, a noted heretic of Alexandria, who flourished A.D. 280?—336. Arius taught that God created the Son, that the Son had not existed from all eternity, and that in essence He was not on an equality with the Father. These heterodox doctrines were condemned by the general council of Nicaea, A.D. 325 [58, 91].

**Aristander**, the most celebrated soothsayer at the court of Macedon in the time of Philip and Alexander the Great [35, 24].

**Aristotle**, b. at Stagira, in Thrace, B.C. 384: studied at Athens, in the school of Plato: was invited to Pella, by Philip of Macedon, to superintend the studies of the youthful Alexander: returned to Athens at the age of fifty, and lectured to large audiences in the Lyceum: was driven from the city on a charge of irreligion and fled to Chalcis, where he died, B.C. 322. Bacon gives a perverse misinterpretation of Aristotle's remarks upon the superiority of the solitary and contemplative life of the thinker [27, 3], and refers to him, with Socrates and Galen for companions, as a man 'full of ostentation' [54, 35].

**Arminians**, a sect of Christians deriving their name from Arminius (Jacobus Harmensen) a Protestant theological professor at Leyden, b. A.D. 1560, di. 1609. Arminius attacked the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination [58, 91].

**Arras**, a town in the north of France (Pas de Calais) where tapestry was made [27, 155].

**Asia**, rivers of [58, 35].

**Assyrians**, their westward movement in war [58, 111].

**Athenians**, their wars for the establishment of democracies [29, 253]; saying of Themistocles the Athenian [29, 1].

**Athens**, slaves at [29, 190].

**Atlantic**, the existence of land beyond the [35, 97].

**Atlantius**, the name given in some of the early editions as an alternative title to Plato's *Critias*, wherein are described the huge island of Atlantis, lying submerged to the west of the Pillars of Hercules, and its inhabitants and laws [35, 99].

**Atlantis**, the island of [58, 31]: see preceding Article.

**Atticus**, Titus Pomponius, b. B.C. 109, di. B.C. 32; an intimate friend and correspondent of Cicero [29, 277].

**Augustus**, the first Roman emperor, b. B.C. 63, di. A.D. 14, was the son of Caius Octavius by Atia, niece of Julius Caesar. In consequence of his adoption by the will of his great-uncle the Dictator [27, 72], he assumed the name of Caesar, and in B.C. 27 received from the senate the title of Augustus. He was remarkable for his talents and beauty [43, 10], and gave evidence from his early years of that prudence [42, 15] and shrewd judgment [8, 10] which characterized him later in life. In B.C. 44 the young Octavian accepted the dangerous inheritance of Julius Caesar's name and property, and the following year, as a result of the reconciliation between Antony, Lepidus and himself, the Second Triumvirate was formed. After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius by Antony and Octavian at Philippi, B.C. 42, Octavian spent nine years in preparations for the inevitable contest with Antony [51, 27]. The final struggle took place at Actium, B.C. 31, when Antony was overthrown, and the exhausted Roman empire, eager for deliverance from 'the long miseries of civil wars,' readily acquiesced in the sole rule of Octavian [55, 40]. His principal advisers were Agrippa and Maecenas, and he compelled his widowed daughter Julia to take the aged Agrippa for her husband [27, 82]. Augustus enacted several laws to improve the moral condition of the people and to secure the public peace and safety. He sought to revive the religious sentiment of the nation, for 'the times were inclined to atheism' [17, 18]. He died peacefully in the arms of his wife Livia [2, 38], who kept the fact of his death secret until the arrival of her son Tiberius [Fame, 43]. See Genealogical Table under **Tiberius**.

**Aurelian**, b. circ. A.D. 212, of humble origin, acquired great fame as a soldier, and was hailed by the troops as emperor, A.D. 270. During his reign, which lasted less than five years, the glory of the Roman arms was restored and the Roman empire, which had been dismembered for thirteen years, was re-established in its former integrity [55, 40]. Victories were gained over the Goths and Vandals, and Zenobia, queen of

Palmyra was taken captive. Gaul, Britain and Spain were reduced to submission. Aurelian was assassinated by one of his officers, A.D. 275.

**Aurelius** (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus), commonly called 'the Philosopher,' b. at Rome, A.D. 121, di. A.D. 180. When a young man he was adopted by Antoninus Pius, whose daughter Faustina he married. In A.D. 161 he succeeded Antoninus Pius as emperor, and deservedly enjoyed throughout his reign the greatest popularity [27, 100]. The single blot on his career as a ruler is the severity shown to the Christians.

**Bajazet II.** (or Bayezid) became Sultan A.D. 1481, and was dethroned by his youngest son Selim I. in 1512 [19, 115]. It was rumoured that Bajazet was carried off by poison, but the statement is not supported by evidence. Selim I. caused however the death of his two elder brothers, Korkoud and Ahmed, shortly after his usurpation. (See *Solyman*.)

**Baugh**, the Bass Rock, in the Firth of Forth [38, 62].

**Becket**, Thomas, was made Abp of Canterbury, A.D. 1162, and shortly afterwards resigned the Chancellorship. He opposed Henry II. in his endeavour to bring criminous clerks under the jurisdiction of the lay courts, but at length yielded and signed the Constitutions of Clarendon, A.D. 1164. Then he withdrew his assent, asked the Pope to pardon his weakness, and fled to the Continent, where he remained for six years [19, 119]. In 1170 Henry caused his eldest son to be crowned by the Abp of York, and Becket, in retaliation for this attack upon the rights of Canterbury, threatened to lay the kingdom under an interdict. During the summer a half-hearted reconciliation was effected between the king and the primate, and on Dec. 1, Becket returned to England. On Dec. 29 he was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral.

**Bernard**, St., A.D. 1091—1153, one of the most influential ecclesiastics of the middle ages; founder and abbot of Clairvaux [16, 65].

**Bion**, fl. B.C. 260, was a native of Scythia, but studied philosophy at Athens and became an adherent of many philosophical schools in succession. He was a notorious unbeliever in the existence of God [16, 54], and a man of profligate life. (He must not be confused with his contemporary, Bion of Smyrna, the bucolic poet, celebrated by Moschus.)

**Briareus** [15, 174; 21, 25], a hundred-handed giant, son of Heaven and Earth. ('The gods call him Briareus, but men *Ægaeon*,' *Iliad*, 1. 403.) When the Olympian gods were about to put Jupiter in chains, Thetis called in the aid of Briareus, who compelled them to desist.

**Britain**, the name substituted for that of England in describing the sovereignty of James I. [38, 58].

**Brutus**, Decimus, had been the recipient of many marks of favour during the lifetime of Julius Caesar, and by Caesar's will he was made one of his heirs in the second degree [27, 70]. So entirely did he possess Caesar's confidence that the other conspirators sent him to conduct their victim to the senate-house [27, 76]. Antony speaks of him in a letter as *venefica* [27, 81]. After Caesar's death, D. Brutus went to his province of Cisalpine Gaul, from which he was ultimately dislodged by Antony and Octavian. Being deserted by his soldiers on the march, and betrayed by a Gaulish chief, he was executed by Antony's orders, B.C. 43.

**Brutus**, Marcus Junius, b. B.C. 85, committed suicide, B.C. 42. When the Civil War broke out between Caesar and Pompey, B.C. 49, Brutus joined Pompey and shared his defeat at Pharsalia, B.C. 48. He obtained Caesar's pardon, but was nevertheless induced by Cassius to join the conspirators. After Caesar's assassination, he made himself master of Greece and Macedonia, and then joined Cassius in Asia, where an army had been collected. Brutus and Cassius returned to Macedonia and met Octavian and Antony on the plains of Philippi, B.C. 42 [51, 26]. Before leaving Asia, Brutus had dreamt that at Philippi disaster awaited him [35, 26]. Cassius, under a misapprehension of the result of the engagement, ordered one of his freedmen to kill him. Three weeks later Brutus led out his troops to a second battle, and when he was defeated he fell upon his sword.

**Burrhus** (or Burrus), a Roman general under Claudius and Nero, was appointed prefect of the praetorian guards, A.D. 52. Burrus and Seneca conducted Nero's education, and it was mainly to the influence of Burrus that Nero's elevation to the throne was due. But Nero chafed against the restraints imposed by his virtuous officer and caused him to be poisoned, A.D. 63 [22, 96].

**Busbechius** (the Latinised form of the name de Busbec), b. in Flanders, A.D. 1522. He was famous as a traveller and diplomatist. Ferdinand I., Emperor of Germany, sent him as ambassador to the Sultan, Solyman II. [13, 19]. He was afterwards ambassador to France, where he died, A.D. 1592. His letters, descriptive of his Eastern travels, were highly praised by Gibbon.

**Caesar**, Caius Julius, b. B.C. 100, assassinated B.C. 44. Connected by birth with Marius and by marriage with Cinna, he was placed in opposition to the dictator Sulla, who predicted that 'that boy would some day be the ruin of the aristocracy, for there were many Mariuses in him.' Bacon cites Caesar as an example of those natures which 'have much heat' and are 'not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years' [42, 10], but Caesar's youthful extravagances may have been designed for the purpose of concealing his political objects from the aristocratic party. In B.C. 60, finding that Pompey was prepared to desert the aristocracy, Caesar effected a reconciliation between Pompey and Crassus and joined them in the coalition which is called the First Triumvirate. During the next nine years he was occupied with the subjugation of Transalpine Gaul, and aroused the jealousy of Pompey, who returned to the aristocratic party, determined to crush his rival [51, 23]. Pompey was misled by false reports of disaffection amongst Caesar's troops [*Fame*, 38] and was ill prepared for the struggle. Caesar crossed the Rubicon, B.C. 49, and in three months made himself master of all Italy. He then rapidly reduced Spain to subjection and, after passing a short time in Italy, followed Pompey to Greece [29, 278]. He found himself placed in a critical position near Dyrrhachium on the coast of Illyricum. In his impatience to obtain reinforcements he attempted to cross the Adriatic in a small boat to Brundisium, and told the sailors that 'they were carrying Caesar and his fortunes' [40, 46]. A storm compelled the party to return to the Greek shore, and shortly afterwards Antony brought over the rest of the

army. The battle of Pharsalia, B.C. 48, decided the fate of Pompey and of the Roman empire. After crushing the survivors of the Pompeian party in Africa and Spain, Caesar, who had been elected dictator for ten years in his absence, returned to Rome, B.C. 44, undisputed master of the Roman world [55, 31]. As an illustration of his intemperate language, Suetonius quotes his alleged remark, 'The republic is a mere name, without substance or form: Sulla was an ignoramus for giving up *dictating*' [15, 220]. Caesar now devoted himself to the reform of abuses in the state, but his career was destined to be cut short. Cassius had set on foot a conspiracy against his life, to which more than sixty persons were privy, including Decimus Brutus, whom Caesar highly esteemed [27, 70], and whom he appointed by his will his heir in the second degree [27, 72]. It was D. Brutus who persuaded Caesar to neglect the warning of Calpurnia's dream [27, 76] and conducted him to the senate-house on the fatal Ides of March. The political struggles which followed Caesar's death had for their final outcome the triumph of Octavian [4, 39], who in B.C. 29 was made imperator for life and two years later received the title of Augustus.

**Cain**, slew his brother Abel [9, 68].

**Calpurnia**, the last wife of Julius Caesar. In consequence of a dream she begged her husband not to leave home on the Ides of March, B.C. 44 [27, 75].

**Canaries**, a group of islands belonging to Spain, situated off the west coast of Africa, to the south of Madeira. The cultivation of sugar was introduced there in A.D. 1507 [34, 81].

**Candian**: Candia is the modern name of the island of Crete in the Mediterranean Sea, to the south of Greece [27, 12].

**Caracalla**, b. A.D. 188, son of the emperor Septimius Severus, derived his nickname from the Gallic coat, *caracalla*, which he adopted after he became emperor and introduced into the army. In A.D. 202 he married Plautilla, daughter of Plautianus, the praetorian prefect [27, 95]. On the death of his father Severus at York, A.D. 211, Caracalla became emperor, but his younger brother Geta was named joint heir of the throne. By Caracalla's orders Geta was murdered and many thousands of his supporters were put to death. Henceforth Caracalla was haunted by the recollection of his crimes and sought to get rid of his remorse by hunting, chariot-racing [19, 19] and gladiatorial shows. The rest of his reign was passed in the perpetration of insane atrocities, and in A.D. 217 he was assassinated.

**Cassius** (Caius Cassius Longinus) first displayed his ability in extricating Crassus from a perilous position after his crushing defeat at Carhae in the campaign against the Parthians, B.C. 53. Cassius was a supporter of the aristocratic party and an enemy of Caesar, into whose hands he was obliged unconditionally to surrender himself and by whom he was magnanimously forgiven. Prompted by hatred and ambition, Cassius organised the conspiracy against Caesar's life, B.C. 44. At the first battle of Philippi, Brutus and Cassius were opposed to Octavian and Antony [51, 26]; Brutus defeated Octavian, but Antony defeated Cassius, and Cassius, supposing that all was lost, ordered his freedman Pindarus to stab him. Brutus mourned the loss of his companion as

'the last of the Romans,' an epithet which Cassius by no means deserved.

**Cato, Marcus Porcius**, the Censor, b. B.C. 234, di. B.C. 149. He served in the army against Hannibal and took part in the battle of the Metaurus, B.C. 207. In the intervals of peace he cultivated his hereditary farm with success. He rose to be consul in B.C. 195, and showed military genius of a high order. During his censorship, B.C. 184, he vigorously assailed the vices of the nobles. In his old age he applied himself to the study of Greek literature [40, 16].

**Celsus, Aurelius Cornelius**, a celebrated Latin writer on medicine, flourished in the reign of Tiberius. His treatise, *De Medicina*, is in eight books [30, 43].

**Charles the Bold**, duke of Burgundy, b. A.D. 1433, di. 1477. He was engaged in protracted hostilities against Louis XI. of France, allying himself for that purpose with Edward IV., whose sister he had married. He was defeated and killed in a battle before Nancy [27, 111].

**Charles the Great** (or Charlemagne) grandson of Charles Martel, king of the Franks, b. A.D. 742, di. 814. His empire embraced all France, part of Spain, more than half of Italy, and nearly all Germany. He attacked the idolatrous Saxons, was acknowledged by the pope as suzerain of Italy, carried his arms into Spain, and was crowned at Rome emperor of the West, A.D. 800. He fortified the French coast against the Northmen, developed commerce, encouraged learning, and raised the character of the clergy [58, 136].

**Charles V.** b. A.D. 1500, di. 1558. The death of his grandfather Ferdinand, in A.D. 1516, placed the crowns of Spain, Naples, Sicily and of the Spanish territories in the New World on the head of Charles, who was already ruler of the Netherlands, and who was elected Emperor of Germany in 1519 [19, 72]. After years of conflict with the Protestant princes of Germany, Charles abdicated in favour of his son, A.D. 1556, and retired to the monastery of Yuste in Estremadura, where he passed the last two years of his life [19, 28].

**China**, ordnance in use there for over two thousand years [58, 164].

**Cicero, Marcus Tullius**, b. B.C. 106, was included by Antony in the list of the proscribed and killed, B.C. 43. He was saluted as *parens patriae* for the part which he played as Consul in crushing Catiline's conspiracy, B.C. 63, but was indicted for putting to death without a trial five of the ringleaders and forced to go into banishment, B.C. 58. He was received at Rome with enthusiasm on his return a year and a half later. He espoused Pompey's cause at the beginning of the Civil War, B.C. 49, but recovered Caesar's favour after the battle of Pharsalia. His famous *Philippics* [27, 80] against Antony, B.C. 44-3, raised him to the height of his glory among his countrymen, but the formation of the Second Triumvirate sealed his fate. He acquired eminence as pleader, statesman, writer on philosophy, and man of letters. Bacon alludes to his treatises *De Oratore* and the *Orator* [45, 40] and cites him as an example of those whose fame is due in part to 'some vanity in themselves' [54, 39]. He also mentions Cicero by name in seven other places in the *Essays*, when introducing passages from his writings, and quotes him anonymously four times. (See QUOTATIONS.)



**Claudius Appian**, a leading man among the Decemviri, conceived a love affair with a woman of Virginia [20, 11], who was stabbed by her father to save her from dishonour. This incident led to the overthrow of the Decemvirate, B.C. 449, and the suicide of Appian Claudius.

**Claudius**. **Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus**, b. B.C. 10, became fourth emperor of Rome after the murder of his uncle Caligula, A.D. 37, assassinated, A.D. 54. He was the grandson of Tib. Claudius Nero and of Livia, who afterwards married Augustus. At the time of his accession he was married to his third wife, the notorious Messalina, who, together with the freedman Narcissus and others, prompted him to perpetrate many cruel acts. When Messalina was removed by the intrigues of Narcissus [22, 54], Claudius married his niece Agrippina, A.D. 49, who induced him to set aside his son Britannicus and secured the succession for her own son Nero. Having effected her aim, she poisoned her husband. (See Genealogical Table under Tiberius.)

**Clément**, Jacques, a Dominican, assassinated Henry III., king of France, A.D. 1589 [29, 13]. Clément was killed on the spot by the royal guards.

**Cleon**, a tanner by trade, was a leading democrat at Athens. During six years of the Peloponnesian War he headed the party opposed to Sparta (B.C. 428—427). By an extraordinary stroke of luck he captured the island of Sphacteria, B.C. 425, and inflicted a serious blow upon the prestige of the Spartan arms, but in B.C. 422 he was defeated and killed in an attempt to recover Amphipolis for Athens. Aristotle in the *Knights* (B.C. 424) ridicules Cleon [38, 75] and mentions an oracle which declares that a serpent (i.e. the sausage-seller) shall conquer the leather-eagle (i.e. Cleon).

**Cronus**, a Titan, son of Earth [15, 16].

**Commynes** (Philippe de Commines), b. A.D. 1445 at Commines, near Lille, di. 1509. For some years he was secretary to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy [27, 111] and afterwards entered the service of Louis XI., whose confidential adviser he became [27, 117]. Although his *Mémoires* make no pretension to literary style, de Commines rises superior to the writers of chronicles who preceded him and almost deserves to rank as a historian.

**Commodus**, b. A.D. 161, son of Marcus Aurelius, whom he succeeded, A.D. 180. He was one of the most cruel and debauched of the Roman emperors. His vanity prompted him to exhibit his prowess in many inglorious arts, but his chief boast was his skill in the use of martial weapons [19, 18]. Seven hundred times he fought as a gladiator. He was poisoned by his mistress Marcia, who found her own name in a list of persons destined for execution, and when the poison seemed slow in acting, she called in the aid of an athlete by whom Commodus was strangled, A.D. 192.

**Gonsalvo** (or Gonsalvo, or Gonzalo-Hernandez), b. near Cordova, A.D. 1443, called 'the Great Captain,' was a distinguished Spanish soldier in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella [27, 41]. He expelled the Moors from Granada and the French from Naples. Afterwards he fell into disgrace, and died, neglected by Ferdinand, in 1515.

**Constantine**, Flavius Julius, received Italy and Africa as his portion.

upon the division of the empire, A.D. 337. He successfully resisted his brother Constantine II. who met his death when invading the territory of Constans, A.D. 340. Constans was killed [19, 106] by the soldiers of the usurper Magnentius, A.D. 350. (See also next three Articles.)

**Constantinus I.** the Great (Constantinus Flavius Valerius Aurelius Magnus), b. A.D. 272, eldest son of the emperor Constantius Chlorus, became emperor on his father's death at York, A.D. 306. He protected the Christians in his dominions, and shortly before he died was baptized as a Christian. He made Byzantium the capital of the Roman empire and called it Constantinople, A.D. 330. He caused the banishment and execution of his accomplished son Crispus (*q.v.*) on a charge of treason [19, 105] A.D. 324. His plan for the government of the empire after his death by his sons jointly proved a failure. Died A.D. 337.

Minervina = Constantine the Great = Fausta

Crispus	Constantine II.	Constantius	Constans
executed A.D. 326	killed A.D. 340	died A.D. 361	killed A.D. 350

**Constantinus II.**, Flavius Claudius, the Younger, second son of Constantine the Great. On his father's death in A.D. 337 he was dissatisfied with his share of the empire (Gaul, Britain, Spain, and part of Africa) and demanded from his brother Constans the rest of Africa and the co-administration of Italy. In the war which followed he was killed, A.D. 340 [19, 106].

**Constantinus II.**, Flavius Julius, third son of Constantine the Great. By arrangement with his two surviving brothers in A.D. 337 he received, as his share of the empire, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, the province of Asia and Egypt. Having overthrown the usurper Magnentius, he made himself master of the West, A.D. 353. The empire was on the brink of a terrible civil war between Constantius and Julian (*q.v.*) when the calamity was averted by the sudden death of Constantius, A.D. 361 [19, 107].

**Constantinople**, founded by Constantine the Great, on the site of the ancient Byzantium. Bacon alludes to the 'waggishness' of 'a Christian boy' in Constantinople [13, 19] and to the sacking of the city when the Great Turk dies [*Fame*, 46].

**Cosmus de Florence** (Cosmo de Medici), b. A.D. 1519, a descendant of the younger branch of the Medici family, became Duke of Florence, 1537, and Grand Duke of Tuscany, 1569: di. 1574. Bacon quotes his 'desperate saying' about the forgiveness of friends [4, 28] and cites him as an example of 'reposed natures' which 'do well in youth' [42, 15].

**Crispus**, Flavius Julius, eldest son of Constantine the Great and his first wife Minervina, achieved distinction in war. He aroused the enmity of his step-mother Fausta, at whose instigation his father caused Crispus to be executed, A.D. 326 [19, 104].

**Croesus**, last king of Lydia, succeeded his father, B.C. 560. The fame of his wealth and power drew to his court at Sardis the wisest men of Greece and amongst them Solon [39, 76]. To Solon (according to Herodotus's story, which chronological considerations compel us to reject) the king displayed his treasures and asked who was the 'happiest

man that Solon had ever seen. Solon replied that no man should be deemed happy until he had finished his life in a happy way. After Crœsus had reigned fourteen years, Sardis was captured by Cyrus, king of Persia, and Crœsus was taken prisoner. The date and circumstances of his death are unknown.

**Cupids**, representatives of Cupid in antimasques [37, 41]. Cupid, son of Venus (in Greek mythology Eros, son of Aphrodite), was depicted as a wanton boy with golden wings, who inspired love or aversion with his arrows. The poets multiplied the number of Cupids indefinitely.

**Cyrus** the Elder, founder of the Persian empire [55, 31], ousted from his throne Astyages, king of Media, B.C. 559, and seized Sardis, the capital of Lydia, from its rich king Crœsus, B.C. 546. He also took Babylon, the capital of Assyria, of which Labynetus (Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel) was king, by diverting the course of the Euphrates and marching up the dry bed of the river, B.C. 538. He was killed in battle, B.C. 529. The *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon is a historical romance: the narrative of Herodotus deserves more credit.

**David**, reigned B.C. 1056—1015. Several of the psalms contained in the *Book of Psalms* are of his authorship [5, 28].

**Decii**. In the Latin War, B.C. 340, T. Manlius Torquatus and Publius Decius Mus, the consuls, were warned in their dreams that destruction awaited the general of one side and the army of the other. Decius, seeing the wing under his command beginning to give way, rushed into the thick of the fight and was killed. The Romans then gained a complete victory. In the Third Samnite War, B.C. 295, his son, P. Decius Mus, decided the doubtful issue of the fight in favour of the Roman arms by imitating his father's conduct and sacrificing his own life [55, 61].

**Demetrius**, younger son of Philip V., king of Macedonia, was suspected by his brother Perseus of an intention to supplant him on the throne by calling in the assistance of the Romans after their father's death. Perseus therefore caused Demetrius to be falsely accused of treasonable correspondence with the Romans and brought about his execution, B.C. 179 [19, 110].

**Democritus**, b. circ. B.C. 460, at Abdera in Thrace. The Abderites held him in high honour. Cicero speaks of him as the rival of Plato in style. Democritus developed the atomistic theory of Leucippus [16, 14]. Not one of his works has come down to us. He had grand views of the universe but a mean opinion of man. His nickname, 'the Laughing Philosopher,' is supposed to be due to his good-natured contempt for the follies of his fellow-men.

**Demosthenes**, the greatest of the Greek orators, b. B.C. 382, di. B.C. 322. He began his career as a public speaker by prosecuting his guardians for breach of trust. Encouraged by his success, he spoke before the people, but incurred general ridicule. He then took immense pains to correct his oratorical deficiencies [12, 3] and presently became a leading statesman at Athens. By his Philippic and Olynthiac orations he aroused the Athenians to resist the encroachments of Philip, king of Macedonia. He subsequently fell a victim to the hatred of the

Macedonian party, went into exile, and took poison to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies.

**Diagoras**, b. in the island of Melos, one of the Cyclades, fl. circ. B.C. 420. He was generally regarded as an atheist [16, 54], and Aristophanes in the *Clouds*, B.C. 424, calls Socrates 'the Melian' in order to associate him with Diagoras and with attacks upon the popular religion. There is no trace of irreligion, however, about anything that is known to us of the writings of Diagoras. He fled from Athens to escape the violence of the conservative party, and died at Corinth.

**Diana**, an Italian divinity, identified with the Greek Artemis, the sister of Apollo [39, 31].

**Diocletian** (Diocletianus Valerius), b. A.D. 245 in Dalmatia, of obscure parentage. He distinguished himself as a soldier and, on the murder of the emperor Numerianus, A.D. 284, was nominated by the troops as his successor. By a long series of brilliant achievements he repelled the barbarians from the Roman frontiers, and at length, in A.D. 305, exhausted and depressed [19, 28], he resigned the purple and spent the last eight years of his life in retirement in his native Dalmatia. He died A.D. 312. The worst feature of his reign is the severe persecution of the Christians, A.D. 303.

**Domitian** (Titus Flavius Domitianus Augustus), b. A.D. 52, younger son of Vespasian and brother of Titus, whom he succeeded as emperor, reigned A.D. 81—96. He was one of the most cruel and debauched of the Roman emperors. To his cruelty his death was due. Three of his officers, whom he intended to execute, assassinated him, A.D. 96. Bacon refers to his skill in archery [19, 17] and to his dream the night before he was killed [35, 33].

**Dürer**, Albrecht, the most celebrated German painter of the 16th century, b. at Nürnberg, A.D. 1471, di. 1528. He wrote several books relating to his art [43, 20] and acquired wide fame as a draughtsman and engraver.

**Edgar**, king of England, A.D. 958—975. Much of the success of his reign was due to his minister Dunstan, Abp of Canterbury. A policy of conciliation towards the Danes was adopted, and Edgar obtained the name of 'the Peaceful.' His legislation indicates an enlightened attempt to put Englishmen and Danes on an equality before the law [56, 35] and 'after times looked back fondly to "Eadgar's Law," as it is called, in other words to the English Constitution as it shaped itself in the hands of Eadgar's minister.' (J. R. Green, *Short History of the English People*, p. 54.)

**Edward II.**, king of England, A.D. 1307—1327, was deposed by the machinations of his queen, Isabella of France, who intrigued with Roger Mortimer against her husband's crown and honour [19, 91]. It is supposed that Edward was barbarously murdered in Berkeley Castle.

**Edward IV.**, king of England, A.D. 1461—1483. Bacon cites him as an instance of the combination of personal beauty and ability [43, 11]. 'Tall in stature and of singular beauty, his winning manners and gay carelessness of bearing secured him a popularity which had been denied to nobler kings. But his indolence and gaiety were mere veils beneath

which Edward shrouded a profound political ability.' (J. R. Green, *Short History*, p. 286.)

**Edward VI.**, king of England, A.D. 1547—1553. The initial of his name forms one of the letters in the word *hempe* [35, 54].

**Egyptian** priest, his story told to Solon about the island of Atlantis [58, 30].

**Elias** (the Greek form of the name Elijah) appeared to Ahab, king of Israel, circ. B.C. 908 and declared that there should be no rain in the land for three years [58, 17]. The drought ended with the trial between the prophets of Baal and Elijah on Mount Carmel.

**Elizabeth**, queen of England, A.D. 1558—1603 [22, 29, 76; 35, 48, 55; 39, 32].

**Empedocles**, a philosopher of Agrigentum in Sicily, fl. circ. B.C. 444. He agreed in some points with the Pythagoreans and in some points with the Eleatics. His marvellous powers secured for him a high reputation. According to one tradition he perished in the flames of Ætna; according to another he was removed from earth like a god. Bacon mentions him as an example of lovers of solitude [27, 12].

**Enceladus**, a Giant, son of Earth [15, 16].

**England**, the powder treason of [8, 132], the subsidies of [29, 95], superior to France in the military qualities of its peasants [29, 118], its feudal retinues [29, 131], Henry VI. of [35, 36], done when hempe is spun [35, 51], the king's style of [35, 58], to have no wars after '88 [35, 65].

**Epaminondas**, the Theban statesman and general, after the victory of Leuctra, B.C. 371, established Thebes in place of Sparta as the ruling state in Greece. In the battle of Mantinea, B.C. 362, Epaminondas was mortally wounded, though his troops won the victory. Bacon quotes Plutarch respecting the laborious character of his warfare [40, 59].

**Epicurus**, b. at Samos, B.C. 342, lived in various places as a teacher till he was thirty-five years of age, when he settled at Athens and established a philosophical school. Died B.C. 270. In the physical part of his philosophy he followed the atomistic theory of Democritus and Diogenes. Lucretius's poem *De Rerum Natura* expounds these doctrines in immortal verse [16, 15]. Epicurus taught that pleasure was the highest good, but by pleasure he signified mental pleasure,—freedom from whatever tends to disturb our peace of mind. Ideas of atheism [8, 133] and sensuality are popularly associated with his name, through ignorance of his teaching and mode of life. Still, as he denied the immortality of the soul and the interference of the gods in human affairs [16, 36], his tenets were likely to be abused by those who could not rise to the love of virtue for its own sake. Only a few fragments of the writings of Epicurus have come down to us, but his system is expounded by Cicero, somewhat superficially, and by Plutarch and Seneca. From Seneca 'a poor saying of Epicurus' is quoted by Bacon, who entirely perverts its meaning [10, 17].

**Epimenides**, a poet and prophet of Crete, fl. B.C. 600, of whom many marvellous stories were told. He is said to have fallen asleep in a cave as a boy and to have slept on for fifty-seven years. He was invited to Athens to rid the city of the plague and accomplished his

object. The unflattering remark about the Cretans, quoted in St Paul's *Epistle to Titus* (i. 12) is from Epimenides. Bacon mentions him as an example of lovers of solitude [27, 12].

**Epimetheus.** Jupiter, enraged with Prometheus for stealing fire from heaven, caused a lovely woman, Pandora (*Endowed-with-all-gifts*) to be created and invested with charms which should bring misery upon mankind. She was offered in marriage to Epimetheus (*Afterthought*), who disregarded the advice of his brother Prometheus (*Forethought*) not to accept any present from Jupiter. Pandora brought with her an unopened box, the gift of Jupiter, containing all the ills of human life. The lid was raised and the evils flew out, but Epimetheus shut the box in time to prevent the escape of Hope, which lay at the bottom [15, 184].

**Escorial,** an immense palace in Spain, twenty miles from Madrid, begun in A.D. 1563 by Philip II., in memory of the victory of St Quentin, gained by the Spaniards and English over the French, A.D. 1557. The building is in the form of a gridiron in honour of St Lawrence, on whose day the battle was fought [45, 46].

**Esther,** Book of [45, 50], one of the latest of the canonical books of the Old Testament. Esther became the wife of Ahasuerus (Xerxes), king of Persia, B.C. 479.

**Europe,** most of its kingdoms have sea-boards [29, 295], large build-ings in [45, 45], its rivers [58, 35].

**Ferdinand I.,** king of Naples and Sicily [19, 79], notorious for his cruelties and debaucheries, reigned A.D. 1458—1494. His treacherous and savage character provoked a civil war, in which he had the help of the Pope and of Sforza, Duke of Milan.

**Foix,** Gaston de, duke de Nemours, and nephew of Louis XII., b. A.D. 1489, won great distinction in his command of the French army against the Spaniards and Italians, and was killed at the battle of Ravenna, A.D. 1512. Bacon mentions him to show that 'reposed natures may do well in youth' [42, 16]. Bacon's reference may be to another **Gaston de Foix**, Viscount de Béarn, b. A.D. 1331, who served with distinction in the army at the age of fourteen, and whom Froissart describes as a pattern of chivalry. (Reynolds, *Bacon's Essays*, p. 301.)

**Fox,** Richard, A.D. 1466—1548, Bishop of Winchester, Privy Seal and confidential adviser of Henry VII. [20, 80] whom he served before Henry came to the throne. When Wolsey engrossed the attention of Henry VIII., Fox retired to his diocese and spent his remaining years in works of piety and munificence.

**France,** the massacre in [3, 132], cabinet councils in [20, 59], its inferiority to England in the military qualities of its peasants [29, 115], Bacon's residence in [35, 39].

**Francis I.,** king of France, b. A.D. 1494, succeeded Louis XII. in 1515, whose daughter he had married: advanced his pretensions to the empire on Maximilian's death, 1519; met Henry VIII. at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520: began hostilities with Charles V. 1521, and with Henry VIII., 1522: lost the battle of Pavia and was taken prisoner, 1525: was restored to liberty by the Treaty of Madrid, 1526: joined Henry VIII. in a declaration of war against Charles V., 1527 [19, 72]: signed the peace of Cambrai, 1529: died 1547.

**French** are wiser than they seem [26, 1], proverb quoted [54, 10].

**Fury** [10, 4]. The Furies (in Greek mythology Erinyes or Eumenides) were hideous women, each of whom carried serpents in her hair, a torch in one hand, and a scourge in the other. They punished the wicked in Tartarus.

**Galba**, Servius Sulpicius, b. B.C. 3. Both Augustus and Tiberius are said to have told Galba that he would one day be at the head of the Roman world [35, 28]. Galba was a man of great wealth and a favourite of Livia, the wife of Augustus. In A.D. 68 he took the lead in the movement, which had been started by Vindex in Gaul, against Nero, and on Nero's suicide he assumed the title of Caesar. After his accession he soon became unpopular with the soldiers, because the large donatives, which had been promised in his name, were withheld [16, 224]. Otho won over the troops with liberal assurances of reward, and Galba was hacked to death in the street, A.D. 69 [2, 43]. Tacitus says that everybody would have considered Galba fit for empire had he never been emperor [11, 99].

**Galen** (Galenus Claudius), a celebrated Greek physician, b. A.D. 130 at Pergamus in Asia Minor, travelled extensively and twice visited Rome, where he is said to have died, A.D. 200, but both the place and the date of his death are uncertain. He wrote in the Attic dialect. Of his treatises, though the greater portion has been lost, enough has come down to us to fill many volumes. Bacon mentions him as an instance of men 'full of ostentation' [54, 35] and Galen certainly shows a high opinion of his own merits and great contempt for some of his adversaries.

**Gallo-græcia** (or Galatia), a province in Asia Minor, founded by Celtic immigrants from Gaul (Γαλάται or Κέλται) circ. B.C. 278. The Gauls in B.C. 390, under Brennus, had plundered and burnt Rome [58, 114].

**Gasca**, Pedro de la, a Spanish ecclesiastic and diplomatist, b. A.D. 1485. He visited England in 1542 to secure Henry VIII.'s support of Spain against Francis I. of France. He put down the rebellion of Gonzales Pizarro in Peru, A.D. 1547, and on his return to Spain was made a bishop by Charles V. Bacon mentions him as an instance of deformity [44, 40]. 'Gasca was plain in person and his countenance was far from comely. He was awkward and disproportioned, for his limbs were too long for his body.' (Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, bk. v. ch. 4.)

**Gaul**, Caesar's troops expected to desert on their return from [Fame, 40].

**Gauls**, their profession of arms [29, 211], their two invasions [58, 113].

**Gellius**, Aulus, a Latin grammarian, fl. A.D. 150, author of *Noctes Atticæ*. To Gellius Bacon assigns a passage [26, 31] which is really a loose quotation from Seneca.

**Gerard**, Baltazar, in A.D. 1584 shot William of Nassau, 'the Silent,' Prince of Orange, whose life had been attempted two years before by Jaureguy [39, 13].

**Germans**, their profession of arms [29, 211].

**Germany**, rumoured removal of the legions from Syria to [Fame, 34].  
**Gonsalvo** [57, 41] see *Gonsalvo*.

**Goths**, their profession of arms [29, 211].

**Graecia**, the Romans made a war for the liberty of [29, 252], Xerxes driven out of [Fame, 48].

**Grecians**, a proverb amongst the [53, 35], their design against Xerxes [Fame, 49].

**Great Britain**, its strength at sea [29, 293].

**Gregory I.**, surnamed the Great, b. circ. A.D. 544, raised to the papacy A.D. 590, di. A.D. 604. He was a zealous reformer of ecclesiastical abuses. To say that 'he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities' [58, 41] is probably, as Bacon asserts, an exaggeration, and Gibbon considers 'the evidence of his destructive rage doubtful and recent.' But the charge was brought against him by his successor in the papal chair, Sabinian. Gregory sent monks under Augustine to convert the English, A.D. 597.

**Guicciardini**, Francesco, an eminent Florentine historian and diplomatist, A.D. 1482—1540, the author of a History of Italy during his own time [19, 78].

**Helena**. In the contest for the golden apple, thrown down by the goddess of Discord and inscribed 'To the fairest,' Juno, Pallas and Venus referred the decision to the son of Priam, king of Troy, the shepherd Paris, who was dwelling on Mount Ida. The three goddesses offered him gifts as bribes; Juno promised him wealth and empire; Pallas promised him wisdom; and Venus promised him the fairest of women for his wife. The prize was awarded to Venus [10, 41]. When Paris went on a visit to Menelaus, king of Sparta, he fell in love with Menelaus's wife Helen, the most beautiful woman in the world, and their elopement led to the Trojan War.

**Hellespont**, the Dardanelles: Xerxes bridged it with boats, B.C. 484 [Fame, 50].

**Henry I.**, king of England, A.D. 1100—1135, engaged in a struggle with Anselm (*q.v.*) about investiture [19, 122].

**Henry II.**, king of England, A.D. 1154—1189, engaged in a struggle with Becket (*q.v.*) respecting ecclesiastical jurisdiction [19, 122]. Under the influence of their mother, his sons Geoffrey, Richard and John took part in various rebellious attempts which embittered Henry's last years [19, 116].

**Henry II.**, king of France, b. A.D. 1518; married Catherine de Medici; succeeded his father Francis I., 1547. Festivities were held at the French court in 1559 on the occasion of the marriage of two of the king's daughters, and Montgomery, captain of the royal guards, was invited by Henry to break a lance with him in the tournament. Montgomery's lance dislodged the king's vizor and pierced his eye. Henry died after eleven days' agony. Bacon mentions a prediction, delivered by an astrologer to Catherine de Medici, that her husband would be killed in a duel [35, 41].

**Henry III.**, king of France, third son of Henry II. and of Catherine de Medici, b. A.D. 1551, succeeded his brother Charles IX. in 1574. He joined the Holy League, which was formed by the Guises, in 1575, for the purpose of crushing the Huguenots. In 1588 the people of Paris, under the influence of the League, drove Henry out of the city [15, 45]. The king was fatally stabbed by a monk, Jacques Clément, in



1589 [4, 40] in revenge for the assassination of the duke of Guise the year before. Henry IV. succeeded to the throne and defeated the adherents of the Guises at Ivry, 1590.

Henry IV., king of France, popularly designated Henry of Navarre, b. A.D. 1553, was in 1569 hailed as head of the Protestant party by its leaders Condé and Coligni. After the massacre of St Bartholomew's Day, 1572, Henry, who was in the power of the king, Charles IX., embraced Catholicism to save his life, but in 1576 he escaped from Paris and rejoined the Protestants in arms. During the next ten years he was occupied with military operations and negotiations for peace. In 1588 Henry III. tried to liberate himself from the dictation of the duke of Guise, whom he caused shortly afterwards to be assassinated. Henry of Navarre joined him with his troops and they took the field against the League. Henry III. was stabbed by Jacques Clément in 1589 [4, 40] and Henry of Navarre, at the head of his Protestant subjects, had now to conquer for himself the kingdom, his right to which had been recognised by the late sovereign. He gained a victory at Ivry in 1590, but was compelled to relinquish the siege of Paris. Neither party seemed likely to obtain a decided advantage over the other. The leaders therefore arranged a compromise. Henry made a public profession of the Catholic faith in 1593, and the Catholics consented to the toleration of the Huguenots. The war was ended by the Treaty of Vervins, 1598, and the Edict of Nantes secured for French Protestants freedom of worship and education [55, 41]. Henry IV. was assassinated by Ravaillac in 1610 [39, 13].

Henry VI., king of England, A.D. 1422—1461, di. 1471. Bacon quotes his prediction that Henry, Earl of Richmond, who was a lad at the time, would some day be king [35, 36].

Henry VII., king of England, A.D. 1485—1509. While still a lad he is said to have been pointed out by Henry VI. as destined for the throne [35, 37]. His accession, after the battle of Bosworth Field, put an end to the civil wars [55, 41]. He checked the power of the nobility [19, 131] and encouraged the growth of the yeomanry [29, 120]. His nature was suspicious though brave [31, 10] and his most important business he entrusted to no one except Morton and Fox [30, 78]. The initial of his name forms one of the letters in the word *hemp* [35, 54].

Henry VIII., king of England, A.D. 1509—1547. In 1515 Francis I. ascended the French throne, and in 1516, Charles, who three years later became the emperor Charles V., succeeded Ferdinand. Thus the trio of astute old politicians, Henry VII., Louis XI., and Ferdinand,—the *tres magi*, as Bacon elsewhere calls them,—gave place to that 'triumvirate of kings,' Henry VIII., Francis I., and Charles V.,—three young and ambitious rivals, on whose friendships and enmities the fate of Europe hung [19, 71].

Heraclitus, a celebrated Greek philosopher of Ephesus, fl. circ. B.C. 500. He belonged in the main to the Ionic school. Owing to the style of his compositions, he was called 'the Obscure.' He recognised fire as the pervading element in all phenomena, and with fire—a self-kindled and self-extinguished fluid—he identified human life and reason. Bacon quotes one of his dark sayings [27, 169].

**Hercules.** For his presumption in bringing heavenly fire to mankind, Prometheus was, by Jupiter's orders, chained to Mount Caucasus, where an eagle continually gnawed his liver. With Jupiter's consent Hercules killed the eagle and rescued Prometheus [5, 16].

**Hermogenes**, a celebrated Greek rhetorician, a native of Tarsus, fl. A.D. 160. At the age of fifteen he had acquired so high a reputation for his oratory that the emperor Marcus Aurelius expressed a wish to hear him and rewarded him for his talent. Hermogenes began to write when he was seventeen years old, but at the age of twenty-five he fell into mental debility which continued to the end of his long life [42, 57]. His works are extant and show appreciation of the merits of the earlier Greek writers.

**Hester** [45, 50], see **Esther**.

**Homer.** Two lines, adapted by Virgil from the *Iliad*, are quoted by Bacon as prophetic of the Roman empire [35, 5], the smoothness of his verses [40, 56].

**Hortensius**, Quintus [42, 62], the celebrated Roman orator, Cicero's rival at the bar, b. B.C. 114, di. B.C. 50.

**India**, city of the Oxidrakes in [58, 161].

**Indians**, sacrifice themselves by fire [39, 26], of the West have no name for God [18, 46].

**Indies, West**, conflagrations by lightning common in [58, 19], inhabited by a newer race than that of the old world [58, 26].

**Isabella** of Castile, Queen of Spain, wife of Ferdinand of Arragon, di. A.D. 1504. Bacon quotes, in an altered form, one of her sayings [52, 12].

**Ismael**, founder of the dynasty of the Sophies in Persia, A.D. 1502 [55, 31]. Bacon mentions him as an instance of personal beauty combined with 'great spirit' [43, 12]. In spite of his 'great spirit' he murdered his mother.

**Issachar.** When Jacob called his sons to hear the last words of Israel their father, he described Judah as 'a lion's whelp,'—indicating thereby vigour and victory,—and Issachar as 'a strong ass crouching down between two burdens...who bound his back to bear and became a slave to tribute,'—forecasting the exactions of neighbouring tribes. The vale of Esdraelon, which contained the most fertile land in Palestine, formed the territory of Issachar [29, 88].

**Italians**, their impartial regard for kindred [7, 35], their ungracious proverb [13, 23], their saying about fidelity [31, 38], and about the qualities that lead to fortune [40, 27].

**Italy**, cabinet councils in [20, 58], its character according to Virgil [29, 129], suspicion of popes in [51, 43], Caesar's troops expected to desert on his return to [Fame, 41].

**James I.**, king of England, A.D. 1603—1625. When Mary Queen of Scots was forced to resign the crown in 1567 she was succeeded by her infant son, who became James VI. of Scotland. Shortly after ascending the English throne, James assumed the title of King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland [35, 57].

**Janisaries** (a Turkish term signifying 'new troops') were a corps of troops, first organized early in the 14th century, forming the Sultan's

guard. They subsequently became a very large and powerful body, and often controlled the destinies of the government [19, 157; *Fame*, 45]. They mutinied in A.D. 1826 and were disbanded.

**Jaureguy**, Juan, the servant of a Spanish merchant of Antwerp, in A.D. 1582 fired at and wounded William the Silent, Prince of Orange [39, 13], for whose assassination a large reward had been offered by Philip II. of Spain. Two years later William was killed by Baltazar Gérard.

**Jehu**, a captain of the army, led a revolt against Jehoram, king of Israel. As Jehu drove furiously towards Jezreel, he was met by messengers who asked 'Is it peace?' [8, 56]. At Naboth's field, Jehu shot Jehoram through the back and then rode on to Jezreel to execute vengeance upon Jezebel, B.C. 884.

**Jesuits**, members of a religious order founded by Ignatius Loyola, A.D. 1534, and confirmed by the pope in 1540. Loyola was president of the Society till his death in 1556. The Jesuits were expelled from France in 1594, 1764 and 1880. The Society was suppressed by the pope in 1773 but was revived in 1814. Absolute obedience and a perfect system of scrutiny are its main characteristics. Bacon mentions, as 'a point of cunning,' the precept of the Jesuits to watch the man with whom one speaks [22, 20].

**Job**, a patriarch of Uz, who remained steadfast under successive afflictions of destruction of property, loss of children, and visitation of disease [4, 33; 5, 30].

**Judah** [29, 88] see *Issachar*.

**Judea**, a prophecy in Vespasian's time respecting [35, 30].

**Julia**, daughter of Augustus by Scribonia and his only child, b. B.C. 39. She married (1) M. Marcellus, (2) in B.C. 23, M. Vipsanius Agrippa [27, 84] by whom she had children, (3) Tiberius Nero, afterwards emperor. She was celebrated for her beauty, wit and debauchery. She was banished by her father Augustus and treated with increased rigour in her exile by her son Tiberius. Died A.D. 14 of consumption or starvation.

**Julian** (Flavius Claudius Julianus), nephew of Constantine the Great, was called 'the Apostate,' because of his renunciation of Christianity and his efforts to restore paganism: b. A.D. 331, Roman emperor A.D. 361—363. He was 'great as an emperor, unique as a man, and remarkable as an author.' Constantius II. sent him to Gaul, where his military and administrative talents were conspicuous. Deprived of his command through the enmity of Constantius, he prepared for civil war, when the opportune death of Constantius, A.D. 361 [19, 109] opened Julian's way to the throne and delivered the empire from the threatened conflict. Julian was killed in an engagement with the Persians A.D. 363.

**Juno**, sister and wife of Jupiter, one of the claimants for the golden apple [10, 41]. See *Helena*.

**Jupiter**, son of Saturn, chief god among the Romans, destroyed the giants, sons of Earth [*Fame*, 13]. Jupiter married Metis, and having swallowed his wife in consequence of a prophecy that the son of Metis would gain ascendancy over his father, he gave birth himself to Pallas,

who sprang forth clad in armour from his head [20, 30]. When the gods of Olympus tried to chain Jupiter, Briareus, the hundred-handed giant, was summoned to his aid [15, 172]. Bacon also makes the following references to Jupiter:—the daughter of Polycrates dreamt that Jupiter bathed her father [36, 18]; Plutus limps when he is sent from Jupiter [34, 32]; if the heathen had possessed names for different gods, such as Jupiter, &c., but not the word *Deus*, they would in this respect have resembled the Indians of the West [16, 48].

**Justinian** (Flavius Anicius Justinianus) the Great, b. A.D. 483, emperor of Constantinople and of Rome, A.D. 527—565. He was of humble birth, but his uncle Justin, who held a high position in the army and became emperor in 518, looked after the education and advancement of the young Justinian at Constantinople, and proclaimed him emperor jointly with himself a few months before his own death in 527. The wars carried on by Justinian's generals, Belisarius and Narses, constitute the chief political events of Justinian's reign, but its great glory is the digest of the Roman law, known as the Justinian Code [55, 35].

**Lacedaemonians**, or Spartans, their wars for the establishment of oligarchies [29, 252].

**Laodiceans**, inhabitants of Laodicea in Asia Minor. St Paul censured the Church of the Laodiceans for being 'neither cold nor hot' [3, 59].

**Lazarus**, the beggar in the parable, who lay at the rich man's gate, where the dogs licked his sores [13, 61].

**Lepanto**, on the north coast of the Gulf of Corinth. Here, in A.D. 1571, the Christian fleet of Papal, Spanish, and Venetian forces, under the command of Don John of Austria, defeated the Turkish fleet, and destroyed the ascendancy of Turkey in the Mediterranean [29, 284].

**Lethe** (*Oblivion*), the name of one of the rivers of Tartarus. The souls of those who drank its waters forgot their former lives [58, 5].

**Leucippus**, a Grecian philosopher of whom very little is known. He is regarded as the founder of the atomic philosophy and the teacher of Democritus, by whom that theory was developed [16, 14].

**Lewis XI.**, king of France, A.D. 1461—1483. As dauphin he cared nothing for the luxury and amusements of the nobility, but consorted only with persons of low station, spent days and nights in meditation, and asked advice of nobody, whence people said that his horse carried all his counsel [27, 117]. As king he was perfidious and cruel, and oppressed the people with taxes. But despot though he was, he had a passion for the prosperity of the state; he encouraged manufactures, increased the territory of France, and projected reforms which were left for the Revolution to accomplish.

**Livia Drusilla**, b. circ. B.C. 55: married Tib. Claudius Nero, by whom she had two sons, Tiberius, afterwards emperor, and Drusus. Her husband was compelled to divorce her in order that she might marry Augustus, over whom she exercised unbounded influence till his death [2, 39]. She excelled in tact, dissimulation, and intrigue [6, 5] and was suspected of removing by foul means Marcellus, the husband of Julia (who was the daughter of Augustus by his former wife Scribonia,) and Julia's sons by her marriage with Agrippa (C. Caesar and

L. Caesar,) in order to clear the way for the selection as emperor of Tiberius, her own son by her former husband. The charge that she attempted to poison Augustus also, seems to be a baseless and gratuitous slander. By spreading reports of an improvement in the condition of Augustus when he was on his death-bed, she gained time for the arrival of Tiberius and secured his succession [FAME, 41]. Tiberius afterwards chafed against her interference and made no endeavour to dissemble his satisfaction when she died, A.D. 29.

**Livia** (or **Livilla**), granddaughter of the preceding, daughter of Drusus. She married her cousin, Drusus junior, son of the emperor Tiberius. In concert with Sejanus she poisoned her husband, A.D. 23 [19, 88], but her guilt was not discovered until the fall of Sejanus in A.D. 31. See Genealogical Table under **Tiberius**.

**Livy** (Titus Livius Patavinus), Roman historian, b. B.C. 59, di. A.D. 17. Bacon mentions him by name three times when introducing quotations from his writings. See QUOTATIONS.

**Low Countries** (the Netherlands), their impartial government [14, 15], the industrious habits of their people [15, 153], their excises cheerfully borne [29, 94], cycles of weather in [58, 62].

**Lucan** (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus) b. A.D. 38, nephew of Seneca, joined in a conspiracy against Nero and committed suicide, A.D. 65. Bacon quotes a couplet from his *Pharsalia*, a heroic poem on the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey [15, 81].

**Lucian**, the most brilliant and purest Greek writer of the second century, a native of Assyria, fl. A.D. 120—200. He was a man of versatile parts,—sculptor, lawyer, rhetorician, historian, traveller. Witty, incisive, and audacious, he ridiculed the vices and follies of society, lashed the vulgar superstitions of decadent religions, and gave no quarter to the pedantic philosophers. Bacon takes him seriously as 'perhaps' an instance of the 'contemplative atheist' [16, 54], and it is probably to Lucian that he alludes as 'one of the later school of the Grecians' [1, 12] who is puzzled that men should love lies 'for the lie's sake.'

**Lucretius** (Titus Lucretius Carus), b. B.C. 95, committed suicide circ. B.C. 51. He wrote a philosophical didactic poem, *De Rerum Natura*, expounding the leading principles of the Epicurean philosophy [1, 48; 3, 127].

**Lucullus**, Lucius Licinius, circ. B.C. 110—58, a naval and military commander of Rome, distinguished himself in the war with Mithridates until he was superseded by Pompey, B.C. 66. On Pompey's return four years later, Lucullus acted with the leaders of the aristocratic party in opposing the ratification of Pompey's acts in Asia [51, 20], thereby forcing Pompey into the arms of the opposite faction and thus bringing about the First Triumvirate, B.C. 60. The tastes and habits of Lucullus in his retirement have made his name a byword for all that is luxurious and magnificent [45, 32].

**Lycurgus**, the great legislator of the Lacedaemonians and author of the singular constitution of Sparta. The time at which he flourished is very variously stated, dates being assigned between B.C. 1084 and 776 [55, 35].

**Macedonians**, their transient prowess in arms [29, 210], described the ordnance of the Oxidrakes as 'thunder and lightning and magic' [58, 162].

**Macro**, Naevius Sertorius, praetorian prefect under Tiberius and Caligula. Macro effected the arrest of Sejanus, his predecessor in the command of the praetorians, A.D. 31, after concerting measures for that object with Tiberius at Capreae [36, 20]. In A.D. 37, when Tiberius was evidently sinking, Macro courted the favour of Caligula and, according to report, hastened the end of the dying emperor by smothering him with a pillow. But his services were too great for pardon or reward, and Macro was doomed to death by Caligula, whose life he had thrice saved, and who owed his empire to his victim's efforts. Macro's wife and children shared his fate.

**Machiavel** (Nicolo Machiavelli), b. at Florence, A.D. 1469. He was appointed Secretary to the Ten Magistrates in 1498 and was often employed as ambassador of the Florentine Republic. In this capacity he went on a mission to the notorious Cesar Borgia. On the restoration of the Medici, in 1512, Machiavelli lost his office in the State, fell under suspicion, was imprisoned and put to the torture, and when released was banished from Florence. In 1521 he was recalled, and died in 1527. He wrote *The Prince*, *Discourses upon Livy*, a dialogue on the *Art of War*, and a *History of Florence*. For Bacon's references to Machiavelli, see QUOTATIONS.

**Maecenas**, Caius Cilnius, descended from an ancient Etrurian stock, was the companion of Augustus on his campaigns and his trusty adviser in political matters [27, 83]. He was a munificent patron of literature: Virgil and Horace enjoyed his friendship. He died B.C. 8.

**Mahomet** (or Mohammed), b. A.D. 570, di. 632, a member of the tribe which was entrusted with the care of the sacred temple of Mecca and claimed a lineal descent from Ishmael. At the age of twenty-five, he married a rich widow. About the year 610 he announced to his own family the fact of his apostleship, and four years later he publicly proclaimed himself a prophet and law-giver by command of God. At this time the Arabs were nomad tribes, destitute of fixed principles, licentious in their manners, and gross in their religious sentiments [58, 84], without any common objects except plunder and the annual pilgrimage to the black stone at Mecca. By some Mahomet was accepted as a new prophet: others regarded him as an impostor and demanded miracles in proof of his mission [12, 31]. Mahomet produced in reply his Koran [16. 2] leaf by leaf, as occasion required, and declared that his mission was to restore truth and virtue by the sword [3, 117]. His fame spread and the number of proselytes increased. After the death of his wife and of his uncle who had been his protector, his life was in great danger. Disturbances arose and in A.D. 622 Mahomet fled to Medina. From this epoch, the year of the Hegira, Mahometan nations date events. In the course of the nine years following, Mahomet made himself master of Arabia and organised a victorious army of 30,000 men.

**Mars**, the Roman god of war [16, 49].

**Mary**, Queen of England, A.D. 1553—1558, wife of Philip II. of

Spain. The initial of her name forms one of the letters in the word *hempe* [85, 54].

**May**, the Isle of May, in the Firth of Forth [85, 62].

**Medici**, Catherine de, b. A.D. 1519, married the duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry II., in 1533. Henry was killed in a tournament, 1559 [85, 40—7], and on the death of their eldest son, Francis II., in 1560, Catherine became regent during the minority of the second son, Charles IX. She died A.D. 1580.

**Medici**, Lorenzo de, styled 'the Magnificent,' b. A.D. 1448, chief of the republic of Florence, carried on a war against Ferdinand of Naples, with whom he concluded peace in 1480 [19, 79]. He was illustrious as a patron of art and literature in Italy. He died in 1492 at the height of his fame.

**Mercury**, the sagacious author of many inventions and the messenger of the gods. He carried a *caduceus*, or wand, with which he conducted departed souls to Hades [8, 151].

**Messalina**, Valeria, third wife of the emperor Claudius. Her name has become a byword for unbounded and undisguised debauchery. She paraded her contempt for the stupid Claudius by publicly going through the form of marriage with her paramour Silius. This incident was the talk of the town, but Claudius was the last person to know of it. Narcissus, the emperor's secretary, apprehensive for his own safety, represented to Claudius that Messalina would not have ventured on such a step unless she had determined to deprive him of his empire and his life [22, 55]. At length, on his own responsibility, Narcissus gave the order for Messalina's execution, A.D. 48.

**Metis** (*Counsel*) see **Jupiter** [20, 27].

**Momus** (*Blame*) the god of railery and censure made himself so obnoxious to the gods by his satirical remarks that they chased him out of heaven. He found fault with a house made by Minerva, because it was not upon wheels and therefore could not be moved away from 'ill neighbours' [45, 16].

**Montaigne**, Michel, Seigneur de, b. A.D. 1533 in the French province of Périgord, after succeeding to his father's modest property spent the rest of his days as a country gentleman. His *Essays* first appeared in 1580, and attained their complete shape in 1588. They abound in shrewd, original, and rambling thoughts, and charm the reader by their garrulous egotism [1, 72]. Montaigne died A.D. 1592.

**Montgomery**, Gabriel, accidentally inflicted a fatal wound on Henry II., king of France, in a tournament, A.D. 1559 [85, 46]. Montgomery afterwards distinguished himself in the religious wars of France. He was beheaded by order of Catherine de Medici, A.D. 1576.

**Morton**, John, privy-councillor under Henry VI., to whose cause he faithfully adhered. By Henry VII. he was made Abp of Canterbury, A.D. 1486, and in 1493 he received a cardinal's hat. Fox and Morton were the king's most trusty advisers [20, 80]. As Henry's Chancellor, Morton acquired notoriety for the skill with which he extorted contributions from private persons to the royal purse, and for the dilemma known as 'Morton's Fork.' The archbishop argued that, if a man lived

expensively, he must have money to spare for the king; if he lived economically, he must be saving money and could therefore afford to help the king.

**Mucianus**, Licinius, three times consul, incurred the suspicion of the emperor Claudius and retired to Asia, but was restored to favour under Nero. When civil war broke out between Otho and Vitellius, in A.D. 69, Vespasian, who was governor of Judaea, felt that he ought to strike a blow for empire, and Mucianus, who was in command of Syria, urged this course upon him [6, 8]. A rumour was spread among the legions of the East that Vitellius meant to move them to the German frontier and to deprive them of the fruits of war [*Fame*, 32], and they clamoured for an emperor of their own. Vespasian at length assumed the imperial title, and Mucianus was despatched to Europe against Vitellius, whose troops had been defeated however before Mucianus arrived. Mucianus must have often tried the patience of Vespasian by the ostentatious assertion of his services [54, 44], but the relations of the two continued friendly. The date and circumstances of Mucianus's death are unknown.

**Mustapha**, eldest son of Solyman the Magnificent by Bosporone, a Circassian slave and favourite sultana until Solyman's affections were transferred to Roxolana. By the machinations of Roxolana, who wished that one of her own sons should succeed to the throne, Solyman's mind was prejudiced against Mustapha, and Mustapha was strangled by his father's orders, A.D. 1553 [19, 90, 99].

**Narcissus**, a freedman of the emperor Claudius, over whom he exercised unbounded influence. When Messalina, wife of Claudius, lost the confidence of the freedmen in the palace, Narcissus watched for an opportunity to strike a blow in self-defence. He arranged that a couple of women should inform the emperor that Messalina had publicly married Silius [22, 54], and gave orders on his own responsibility that Messalina should be put to death, A.D. 48. On Nero's accession, Narcissus was executed, A.D. 54, through the influence of Agrippina.

**Narses**, one of the most successful generals of the emperor Justinian, and the rival of Belisarius, was an Asiatic slave and eunuch [9, 49] whom Justinian appointed to a command, A.D. 538. Narses conquered the Goths and was made exarch of Italy, A.D. 553. He was deposed under the emperor Justinus II. in 565 and died at Rome in 568.

**Nebuchadnezzar**, the greatest of the Babylonian kings and destroyer of the Jewish monarchy, succeeded to the throne B.C. 605, di. B.C. 562. Daniel interpreted his dream of a colossal statue, with its head of gold and its feet of iron and clay [3, 108], to signify the failure of any attempt at permanent universal dominion. Another dream of a spreading tree [29, 143] which was cut down, leaving the stump in the ground, was interpreted by Daniel to mean that the king would lose his reason and herd with the beasts of the field. Nebuchadnezzar's madness lasted seven years.

**Nehemiah**, an eminent Jew of the Captivity, who held the office of cup-bearer to Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia. He obtained leave from the king, B.C. 444, to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the wall of the city [22, 48].



**Nero** (Lucius Domitius Nero Claudius Caesar), b. A.D. 37. After the marriage of his mother to her uncle, the emperor Claudius, Nero was adopted by that prince and married his daughter. He became emperor, A.D. 54, poisoned the rightful heir Britannicus the following year, and caused his mother to be murdered, A.D. 59. In A.D. 64 Rome was burnt, and terrible cruelties were practised upon the Christians, who were accused of the act. Galba's revolt in 68 was successful, and Nero committed suicide. Nero had a passion for music [19, 17, 38], poetry and theatricals.

**Normans**, their profession of arms [29, 212].

**Numa Pompilius**, second king of Rome, B.C. 716—673, the reputed founder of the most important religious institutions of the Romans, under the direction of the nymph Egeria, whom he met in a sacred grove [27, 12]. He is not to be regarded as a historical character.

**Norway**, the black fleet of [35, 63], the king of Spain's surname [35, 69].

**Octavius**, Caius [51, 24], subsequently called Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus in consequence of his adoption by his great-uncle C. Julius Caesar. Bacon speaks of him as the 'nephew' of Julius Caesar [27, 72]. The senate at a later date conferred upon him the title of **AUGUSTUS**, under which name Bacon's other references will be found.

**Ottoman** (Othman, or Osman), founder of the Ottoman empire [55, 31] and of the dynasty of the Osmanlis; a Turkish chief who made himself master of Bithynia; b. A.D. 1259, di. A.D. 1326.

**Otho**, Marcus Salvius, Roman emperor A.D. 69. He intrigued with the soldiers of the guard against Galba and was saluted as emperor in the camp. Galba was killed in the street, but before his death the armies of the Rhine had chosen Vitellius as their emperor, and the legions were already on their way to Rome. A battle was fought at Bedriacum in Cisalpine Gaul: Otho's troops were routed, and Otho stabbed himself. His reign had lasted four months. He was popular with the soldiers, who remained loyal to him to the last, and when he died some of them slew themselves in despair [2, 27].

**Oxidrakes** (Oxydracae or Sydracae), a tribe in the Punjab. Their country is supposed to have been the furthest point reached by Alexander the Great in his march eastwards [58, 161].

**Pallas** (or Athena, in Roman mythology Minerva) sprang forth from the head of Jupiter equipped in armour [20, 34]; a competitor with Juno and Helena (*q.v.*) for the golden apple [10, 41]. Bacon represents that Pallas counselled Jupiter to summon Briareus to his assistance, when the gods attempted to bind the king of heaven [15, 173]. It was Thetis however who called in Briareus.

**Paul**, a native of Tarsus, converted A.D. 36. Apostle of the Gentiles, beheaded under Nero, A.D. 66. For Bacon's references, see QUOTATIONS.

**Paul's**. St Paul's Cathedral was used as a place for business and promenade in Bacon's time [23, 114].

**Pena**, Dr, told Bacon that an astrologer had predicted the death of Henry II. in a duel [35, 40].

**Persea**, the king of (Xerxes), alarmed by Themistocles' report that

the bridge of boats would be broken [**Fame**, 48], Themistocles' speech to the king of (Artaxerxes) [27, 155].

**Persians**, their vast army at Arbela [29, 58], their transient prowess in arms [29, 210], their westward movement in war [58, 111].

**Pertinax**, Helvius, b. A.D. 126, the son of a charcoal-burner. He was promoted to high positions by the emperor Marcus Aurelius, and suppressed a mutiny in Britain during the reign of Commodus, the son and successor of Aurelius. When Commodus was killed, A.D. 192, Pertinax was consul, and he is supposed to have been privy to the plot against the emperor's life. The soldiers received Pertinax as imperator without enthusiasm. He began at once to introduce extensive reforms, and thereby aroused the hatred of the prætorians, two hundred of whom forced their way to the palace. At the interview which ensued Pertinax was killed, A.D. 193, after a reign of less than three months [4, 39]. His death was avenged by Septimius Severus, *q.v.*

**Peru**, Gasca, president of [44, 40].

**Phaethon** (Φαέθων, *the Shiner*) obtained from his father, the Sun, permission to guide his chariot for one day [58, 16]. The horses turned from their usual course and would have set the earth on fire, had not Jupiter knocked Phaethon out of the car with a thunderbolt.

**Philip of Macedon**, by whose genius and valour the little state of Macedon was raised to the supremacy over all Greece, b. B.C. 382, ascended the throne B.C. 360. In B.C. 337 he repudiated his wife Olympias, respecting whom he had a curious dream shortly after their marriage [35, 21], and who was the mother of Alexander the Great. The following year Philip was murdered at the instigation of Olympias.

**Philip II. of Macedon**. By this name Bacon denotes the sovereign usually styled Philip V., king of Macedonia, who reigned B.C. 220—179. He was induced to consent to the execution of his younger son Demetrius (*q.v.*). Afterwards, on learning that Demetrius had been sacrificed to the jealousy of his elder brother Perseus, Philip was haunted by the avenging spirit of his younger boy and cursed his son Perseus with his dying breath [19, 110].

**Philip le Bel** (Philip IV.), king of France, A.D. 1285—1314: an able but despotic sovereign, whose reign was one of the most important during the middle ages. He engaged in a struggle with the pope, summoned for the first time the estates-general, and suppressed the Templars. Bacon mentions him as an instance of men in whom personal beauty accompanies ability [43, 10].

**Philip II.**, king of Spain, son of Charles V., b. A.D. 1527, married for his second wife Mary, queen of England, in 1554, and after her death proposed marriage to Elizabeth. In 1566 the revolt of the Netherlands commenced, and in 1588 the Armada sailed for the invasion of England. Philip died A.D. 1598. Bacon's only reference to him is in connexion with the word *hempe*, one of the letters of which is the initial of Philip's name [35, 54].

**Philippi**, in Macedonia, near the coast. Here Brutus and Cassius fought Octavian and Antony, B.C. 42. Brutus had been troubled by gloomy apprehensions of disaster since the visit of a spectre [35, 27] the night before his army crossed from Asia to Europe.

**Philippics** [27, 80], orations composed by Cicero against Mark Antony, B.C. 43. They received their name from the speeches of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon.

**Pilate** (Pontius Pilatus), procurator of Judaea in the time of Tiberius, A.D. 26—36. During his government Christ was executed [1, 1]. Pilate is said to have committed suicide at the beginning of Caligula's reign.

**Piso**, Lucius Calpurnius, by his support of Clodius incurred the bitter resentment of Cicero, who delivered a speech in the senate against him [26, 19] B.C. 55, full of virulent abuse, for his misconduct in the province of Macedonia. Piso's daughter Calpurnia married Julius Caesar.

**Plato**, b. at Athens B.C. 429, lived in close intimacy with Socrates, after whose death in B.C. 399 he travelled for twelve years. On his return to Athens he taught in the gymnasium of the Academy. Aristotle was one of his pupils. Bacon refers to his sublime idea of God [16, 43]; to his ridicule of pedantry in the *Protagoras* [26, 32]; to his fiction of the island of Atlantis [38, 99] in the *Timæus* and *Atlantici (Critias)*; to his doctrine of ἀνάμνησις, 'that all knowledge is but remembrance' [58, 2]; and to his theory of the Cycle, or 'Great Year' [58, 48].

**Plautianus**, Fulvius, an African by birth, was prætorian prefect under the emperor Septimius Severus, who placed in his hands much of the imperial authority, and whose son Caracalla married Plautianus's daughter Plautilla, A.D. 202 [27, 95]. Plautianus soon discovered that both Plautilla and himself were regarded with dislike by his son-in-law, and he plotted the death of Severus and Caracalla. His treachery was detected and he was executed A.D. 203.

**Plinius Secundus** (Caius Plinius Caecilius Secundus), known as Pliny the Younger, b. A.D. 61 or 62, was a nephew and adopted son of Pliny the Elder, the famous naturalist, who perished during the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. Pliny the Younger was a governor in Asia Minor under Trajan, on whom he composed a *Panegyric*. Ten books of his *Epistles* have come down to us. Bacon alludes to his vanity [54, 39] of which his letters contain occasional indications, and quotes his advice respecting the bestowal of praise [54, 50]. He also borrows an expression from Pliny without naming the author [15, 99].

**Plutarch** was a native of Bœotia. Very little is known of his life. He visited Rome during the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81—96), and lectured there on philosophy. His later years were passed in honour and comfort in his native town of Chaeronea. His great work is his *Parallel Lives*, containing the biographies of forty-six eminent Greeks and Romans. His other writings are comprised under the title of *Moralia*. Bacon frequently borrows from Plutarch (see QUOTATIONS), but mentions him by name only twice [17, 4; 40, 57].

(A French translation of the Greek original of Plutarch's *Lives* was made by Amyot in 1559. Sir Thomas North's English translation, 1579, professedly made from Amyot's version, is often very inaccurate. Dryden's translation is the motley work of many hands: Dryden contributed the Dedication. The references in the present edition of Bacon's *Essays* are to the common-place but fairly correct translation by the Langhorne, first published in 1770.)

**Pluto**, brother of Jupiter and Neptune, husband of Proserpine, and

god of the lower world. He possessed a helmet which rendered the wearer invisible [21, 27]. As ruler of the lower world, Pluto furnishes all the metals which the earth contains, whence his name signifying 'giver of wealth' [34, 33].

**Plutus**, the personification of wealth [34, 31] was blinded by Jupiter in order that he might bestow his gifts on men without regard to merit.

**Poland**, its feudal revenues [29, 132].

**Polycrates**, tyrant of Samos, made himself master of the Grecian seas and formed an alliance with Amasis, king of Egypt. In the midst of his prosperity, Polycrates came to an ignominious end. Orætes, satrap of Sardis, enticed him to the mainland, where he was arrested and crucified, B.C. 522. Bacon alludes to the prophetic dream of Polycrates' daughter [35, 18].

**Pompey** (Cneius Pompeius Magnus), b. B.C. 106. At the age of twenty-three he gained a brilliant victory over the Marian generals in North Italy, and was received by Sulla with the greatest distinction [27, 62]. On his return from Numidia, B.C. 80, he was greeted with the surname of **MAGNUS**, and demanded a triumph. Sulla opposed his request in the senate. Pompey uttered a threat about the rising and the setting sun [27, 68] and Sulla contemptuously gave his consent. The following year Pompey promoted the election of Lepidus to the consulship against Sulla's wishes [27, 65]. The consulship of Pompey and Crassus, in B.C. 70, was memorable for the repeal of the most important parts of Sulla's reforms, and for the blows struck at the power of the aristocracy. In B.C. 67 Pompey suppressed the pirates of the Mediterranean, and in B.C. 65 he defeated Mithridates, king of Pontus. The opposition of Lucullus and the leaders of the aristocratic party, in B.C. 60, to the ratification of Pompey's acts in Asia, induced Pompey to join Caesar [51, 22] and the First Triumvirate was formed, consisting of Caesar, Pompey and Crassus. In B.C. 51 Pompey's jealousy of Caesar brought him into connexion with the aristocratic party. During the next eighteen months the hostility between the two rivals developed rapidly, and early in the year B.C. 49 the civil war began [29, 277]. Pompey trusted to false reports that Caesar's troops would desert at the first opportunity [**Fame**, 36] but in the course of three months Caesar made himself master of Italy and Pompey retired to Greece. The battle of Pharsalia, B.C. 48, decided the fate of Pompey and of the Roman republic. Pompey fled to Egypt and was assassinated as he stepped ashore. Bacon quotes from Cicero a phrase respecting Pompey's self-love [23, 47] and mentions Pompey's conversation with Lucullus [45, 32].

**Praetorian guard** [19, 158] a body of troops originally formed by Augustus to protect his person and power, and maintained till the time of Constantine. They were so called because they practically continued the organization and function of the *praetoria cohors*, or select troops which attended the person of the praetor. These troops acquired a dangerous power, and for a considerable time they raised and deposed emperors at their pleasure. In A.D. 193 they murdered Pertinax and disposed of the empire to Didius Julianus by auction. Gibbon gives their history, *Decline and Fall*, chap. v.

**Probus**, Marcus Aurelius, a native of Pannonia, Roman emperor A.D. 276—282, was unconnected by blood or alliance with his predecessors or successors in the purple. From his boyhood he had distinguished himself in all parts of the world, and his reign of six years presents a series of brilliant achievements. After celebrating a well-earned triumph, he turned his attention to civil affairs and expressed the hope that a time was coming when soldiers would no longer be necessary [15, 226]. Some of the troops, exasperated by this remark, murdered him. He occupies an honourable place in Roman annals as the best of all the emperors who occupied the throne.

**Prodicus**, a native of Ceos, settled at Athens, where, in the age of Socrates, he taught philosophy, and thereby acquired a large fortune. In Plato's *Dialogues* he is introduced, not indeed without irony [26, 33] yet with more esteem than is shown for his fellow sophists.

**Prometheus**. For the legend respecting his rescue by Hercules [5, 17] see **Hercules**, and for his connexion with Epimetheus and Pandora's box [15, 184] see **Epimetheus**.

**Protagoras**, the title of one of Plato's *Dialogues* [26, 33] which derives its name from Protagoras of Abdera, who lived circ. B.C. 480—410, and spent part of his time at Athens, where he was the first who called himself a sophist and received fees for his teaching.

**Pythagoras**, b. at Samos, fl. B.C. 550, after extensive travels settled in South Italy at Crotona, where he founded a religious brotherhood of adherents. The Pythagoreans believed in the transmigration of souls, and regarded numbers as the basis and essence of all things. Bacon quotes from Plutarch's *Morals* two sayings of Pythagoras, one of plain import [7, 49] the other 'dark but true' [27, 119].

**Pythonissa**, the witch of En-dor to whom Saul, king of Israel, resorted in disguise, B.C. 1056 [35, 4]. Python was the name of the serpent which Apollo slew near Delphi, whence Apollo was called the Pythian, and the priestess who uttered the responses of the Delphic Apollo was called the Pythoness.

**Rabelais**, François, b. at Chinon in Touraine, A.D. 1483: became a friar, practised medicine, attended Cardinal Du Bellay on his journey to Rome, and received through the cardinal's good offices the cure of souls at Meudon near Paris. Died A.D. 1553. His romance concerning the adventures of the royal giant Gargantua, his son Pantagruel, and the favourite Panurge, is an audacious satire on civil and ecclesiastical government [3, 40].

**Rabirius**, Caius, was defended by Cicero, B.C. 63, in a speech which is extant [34, 27]. For political objects, Rabirius, by that time an old man, was accused of having taken part in causing the death of a tribune of the plebs nearly forty years before.

**Ravaillac**, Francis, b. 1578, a Roman Catholic fanatic who assassinated Henry IV. of France [39, 13] in A.D. 1610, by stabbing him twice through the heart. Ravaillac was torn to pieces by horses.

**Regiomontanus**, the Latin name assumed by Johann Müller (A.D. 1436—1476) from his birth-place Königsberg (i.e. 'royal mount'). He was eminent as a Greek scholar, astronomer, and mathematician. Bacon quotes a prophecy of his [35, 70] which was delivered in A.D. 1475.

**Regulus**, Marcus, had achieved brilliant success in the First Punic War, but in B.C. 255 he was defeated and captured by the Carthaginians. After five years' imprisonment he was sent by his captors, in company with their ambassadors, to Rome, there to propound terms of peace. At his instigation the Roman senate declined peace or even an exchange of prisoners, and Regulus returned, as he had promised, to his Carthaginian prison, where he was tortured and killed, B.C. 250 [55, 61].

**Rehoboam**, the son and successor of Solomon [20, 16], followed the advice of the younger men at his court. When the people demanded redress of grievances, Rehoboam threatened to increase their burdens. Consequently a revolt took place, and Jeroboam became king over ten of the tribes, B.C. 975.

**Romans**, the remark of Tigranes about their army [29, 65], their readiness to admit strangers by naturalization [29, 158], their extension of empire [29, 167], the message sent to them by Romulus [29, 206], their profession of arms [29, 221], their ground for making war [29, 235], their promptitude in helping allies [29, 244], their war for the liberty of Greece [29, 251].

**Roman empire**, decay of the [58, 135].

**Rome**, eminent as a state for magnanimity [16, 88], had the use of slaves [29, 190], its dominions less extensive at the first than those of Spain [29, 175], invaded by the Gauls [58, 115], its expansiveness [58, 142], authority claimed by the Church of [56, 4].

**Romulus**, the legendary founder [55, 31] and first king of Rome, B.C. 753—716. He was believed to have been taken up to heaven by his father Mars in a fiery chariot. He appeared subsequently to Proculus Julius, and told him that the Roman people were to cultivate arms [29, 205] and that he would be their guardian god Quirinus.

**Roxolana** (la Rossa, *i.e.* 'the Russian woman,' the name given to Khourrem, *i.e.* 'the Joyous'), a Russian girl in the harem, whom Solyman married according to Mahometan ritual. She acquired unbounded influence over Solyman in his youth and preserved it till her death in A.D. 1558. With the aid of the Pasha Roostem she brought about the execution of Mustapha, Solyman's son by his former wife Bosphorone, in order that one of her own sons might succeed to the Turkish throne [19, 88].

**Russia**, the penance of monks in [39, 36].

**Sabinian**, pope A.D. 604. His tenure of the papacy lasted only a few months, and an interval of nearly a year occurred before the election of Boniface III. [58, 44].

**Saturn**, identified by the ancients with the Greek Cronos, who, to preserve himself from being dethroned by one of his offspring, devoured his children as soon as they were born. When his wife Rhea gave birth to Zeus, she dressed up a stone and presented it to her husband in place of the infant [17, 9].

**Saul**, first king of Israel, B.C. 1095—1056, fell upon his sword at the defeat of his army at the battle of Gilboa. The night after the engagement he visited the witch of Endor to bring up Samuel from the dead. Samuel . . .

Philistines and said that on the morrow Saul and his sons should be with him among the dead.

**Saxons**, their profession of arms [29, 211].

**Schoolmen** [17, 26; 19, 82; 50, 49; 53, 48]. The Aristotelian teaching of the medieval schools and universities, called Scholasticism, was based on the authority of the Church Fathers, of Aristotle, and of the Arabian commentators, and was characterized by its stiff and formal method of discussion. It arose about A.D. 1000, and became extinct early in the 16th century. To its first period, when the question of nominalism and realism occupied men's thoughts, belong the names of Lanfranc, Anselm, Abelard, and Peter Lombard, 'Master of the Sentences' (di. 1164); to its later period, the names of Thomas Aquinas (di. 1274), Duns Scotus (di. 1308) and Occam (di. 1347).

**Scipio** (Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major), the greatest man of his age, b. B.C. 234. He distinguished himself in the Second Punic War before he was twenty at the battles of the Ticinus and Cannae. He took New Carthage, subdued Spain, and brought the war to an end by defeating Hannibal at Zama, B.C. 202. In honour of his victory he obtained the surname of Africanus. He was accused, B.C. 191, of receiving bribes from Antiochus, king of Syria, quitted Rome in disgust at the ingratitude of his countrymen, and retired to his estate at Liternum [42, 65] where he died B.C. 183.

**Sejanus**, Aelius, son of a Roman knight, became the confidential friend of Tiberius [27, 87] and was appointed to the command of the prætorian cohorts. He aimed at obtaining for himself the imperial power, and instigated Livilla to murder her husband Drusus, promising her marriage and a share of the throne. Tiberius at length suspected the designs of Sejanus and devised his ruin. In A.D. 31 Macro was sent by Tiberius from Capreae to Rome [36, 30] with a letter addressed to the senate. When the letter had been read the senate decreed the death of Sejanus. His body was thrown into the Tiber.

**Selymus I.** [19, 115]. See **Bajazet**.

**Selymus II.**, 'the Sot,' son of Solymán the Magnificent by Roxolana, became Sultan on the death of his father, A.D. 1566, was defeated at the battle of Lepanto, 1571, and died 1574. Selymus closely resembled his mother in appearance, but bore no likeness to his father: hence he 'was thought to be supposititious,' and consequently 'the succession of the Turks from Solymán is suspected to be untrue' [19, 102].

**Seneca**, Lucius Annaeus, b. at Cordova B.C. 2, committed suicide by Nero's orders A.D. 66. Seneca was a philosopher and man of letters, at first a self-denying Stoic, afterwards an ambitious intriguer at court. He was banished at Messalina's instigation, A.D. 41, but was recalled eight years later by Agrippina. In company with Burrus he acted as preceptor and guardian to the youthful Nero. He accumulated an enormous fortune [34, 97]. Many of his works are extant,—moral treatises, epistles, and tragedies. From his *Medea* Bacon quotes a passage as prophetic of the discovery of America [35, 11] and elsewhere charges him, not unjustly, with 'some vanity' [64, 39]. For other references see QUOTATIONS.

**Severus**, Lucius Septimius, Roman emperor A.D. 193—211, b. in Africa, A.D. 146. He settled at Rome and rose rapidly in official positions. On the death of the emperor Commodus, A.D. 192, Severus tendered his allegiance to Pertinax. After the murder of Pertinax, the prætorian guards offered the purple to the highest bidder, and Didius Julianus became emperor. But Julianus scarcely ventured to appear abroad. Severus had been proclaimed emperor by the troops in Pannonia and he hastened to Rome. His arrival was the signal for the death of Julianus, A.D. 193, and vengeance was inflicted on the murderers of Pertinax. During the next nine years Severus was occupied with warfare in the East and in Gaul, and in A.D. 202 he returned to Rome to celebrate the marriage of his eldest son Caracalla with Plautilla, daughter of Plautianus [27, 94]. Severus came to Britain, A.D. 207, to suppress a rebellion of the Caledonians and died at York, 211. Bacon quotes his last words [2, 45] and mentions him as an instance of men whose youth is stormy and who ripen late [42, 11], a judgment which Severus's career scarcely confirms.

**Sforza**, Ludovic, duke of Milan, called from his complexion 'the Moor,' b. A.D. 1451, was exiled from Milan during the reign of his brother and that of his nephew, whom he is said to have poisoned and whom he succeeded. In A.D. 1500 he was betrayed to the French and died in captivity in 1508 or 1510 [19, 80].

**Sibylla** of Cumæ, the most famous of the prophetesses called Sibyls. She came to Tarquin the Proud, seventh King of Rome, and offered to sell him nine books. When he refused to buy them, she burned three and asked the same price for the remaining six. The king again refused to buy, whereupon she burned three more and asked the original sum for the remaining three [21, 3]. The king then bought the books, which were carefully preserved and consulted by the Romans when the state was in danger.

**Sicilian**, Empedocles the, [27, 13]. See **Empedocles**.

**Silius**, Caius, paramour of Messalina the wife of the emperor Claudius. During the absence of Claudius from Rome Messalina went through a form of marriage with Silius. Narcissus, the emperor's freedman, and minister, contrived that Claudius should be informed by two women of this public outrage on his honour [22, 55] and Silius was executed, A.D. 48.

**Siren** [10, 4]. The Sirens were three sea-nymphs, who first charmed men and afterwards destroyed them. Once they had wings, but they lost their wings after their defeat in a contest with the Muses. Ulysses made himself and his companions secure from the power of the Sirens, and the Argonauts, returning from Colchis, passed them unscathed, as the music of their fellow-passenger Orpheus was more fascinating than the song of the Sirens. Thereupon the Sirens threw themselves into the sea and were turned into rocks.

**Socrates**, the Athenian philosopher, b. B.C. 468, served with credit in some of the engagements in the Peloponnesian War. He conveyed his instruction by conversation in public places; was ridiculed by Aristophanes in the *Clouds*, B.C. 423; was indicted on a charge of impiety, B.C. 399, and was executed the same year. His thick lips,



snub nose, and prominent eyes gave him the appearance of a satyr, and Bacon dismisses him to join the ranks of 'deformed persons' [44, 40]. Elsewhere Bacon speaks of him as a man 'full of ostentation' [54, 34].

**Solomon**, the son and successor of David, was king of Israel, B.C. 1015—975, and enjoyed great prosperity [5, 31; 56, 147]. During his reign the Temple was built. Three books in the Old Testament bear his name,—the *Song of Solomon*, the *Book of Proverbs*, and the *Book of Ecclesiastes*. For Bacon's numerous references see QUOTATIONS.

(*Salomon* is the form of the name which is used in the LXX. and Vulgate, and adopted in the translations of Wyclif, Tyndale and Cranmer. The Hebrew form *Solomon* was introduced into the A.V. 1611 from the Geneva version of 1557. Bacon always writes *Salomon*.)

**Solon** was made Archon of Athens, B.C. 594, at a time when the state was rent by civil dissensions. He drew up a new constitution and a new code of laws [55, 35] which he bound the Athenians to observe for at least ten years. This constitution was overthrown by Pisistratus, B.C. 560, shortly before Solon's death. The story of the interview between Solon and the Lydian king Croesus [29, 76] must be rejected on chronological grounds. In Plato's *Timæus* an Egyptian priest is said to have told Solon of the existence of the island of Atlantis [58, 30].

**Solyman**, the second Turkish emperor of that name, b. A.D. 1404, surnamed by Europeans 'the Great,' or 'the Magnificent,' and by his own countrymen 'the Conqueror,' or 'the Legislator,' succeeded to the throne A.D. 1520. He suppressed the Mamelukes, defeated the Hungarians, took Buda, and besieged Vienna, but was compelled to retire from that city with enormous loss. In the internal administration of his dominions he displayed the most enlightened regard for the welfare of the vast populations under his rule. He died of fever in an expedition against Hungary, A.D. 1566. His wife Roxolana caused the destruction of Mustapha [19, 89], Solyman's son by a former marriage, and in consequence of this act 'the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue' [19, 100]. See also **Mustapha**, **Roxolana**, **Selymus**, **Zanger**.

The following Table shows the relationship of those members of this house to whom Bacon makes reference in the *Essays*.

Bajazet II.			
A.D. 1481—1512 [19, 115]			
Selim I.			
A.D. 1512—1520 [19, 115]			
(Bosphorone) =	Solyman II.		= Roxolana
	A.D. 1520—1566 [19, 89, 100]		[19, 88]
Mustapha	Zanger	(Bajazet	Selymus II.
[19, 90, 99]	[44, 39]	executed	A.D. 1566—1574
		A.D. 1559)	[19, 102]

**Spain**, an Italian proverb concerning [25, 23], its extensive dominions [29, 173], its veteran army [29, 273], the surname of the king of [35, 68], its probable decay [58, 138], its expansiveness [58, 142].

**Spaniards**, their proverb [6, 98; 16, 108], their slowness [25, 22], seem wiser than they are [26, 2], large dominions held by few native [29, 173], their profession of arms [29, 214].

**Sparta**, less extensive in its dominions than Spain [29, 175], had the use of slaves [29, 190], its profession of arms [29, 208], scourging of the lads of [39, 29].

**Spartans**, their small despatch [25, 22], seldom naturalised aliens [29, 152].

**Stoics**, a philosophical school founded by Zeno, a native of Cyprus, who settled at Athens, circ. B.C. 300. He taught in the *Στοά Ποικίλη* (*Painted Porch*), whence his disciples received their name. The Stoics aimed at a life unperturbed by the passion of joy or of grief. They held that the supreme end of life, the *summum bonum*, is virtue. Conduct should conform to the law of nature. We must submit to what is inevitable, and cultivate a feeling of indifference for external sources of pleasure and pain. Hence temperance and self-denial should be practised. It is only the wise man who can completely discharge his duty, and he alone is unmoved by passion, just, and free. Bacon unfairly censures the Stoics for making too great preparations for death [2, 46], quotes 'a high speech of Seneca' after their manner [5, 1], and condemns their notion of utterly extinguishing anger as a mere boast [57, 2].

**Switzers**, stability of [14, 12].

**Sylla**, Lucius Cornelius, distinguished himself in Africa under Marius, became leader of the aristocratic party in the Social War, and drove Marius out of Italy in B.C. 88. During Sylla's absence in the East, where he was in command against Mithridates, Marius's party regained the upper hand at Rome. Marius became consul for the seventh time and died B.C. 86. On Sylla's return he gained a victory over the Marian party at the Colline Gate, B.C. 82, and made himself master of the lives, liberties and property of the citizens of Rome. He assumed the surname of **FELIX** [40, 48]. Under the title of perpetual Dictator, B.C. 81, he reconstructed the constitution, but in B.C. 79 he abdicated all power. He died B.C. 78. Bacon refers to the high consideration which Sylla showed for the youthful Pompey [27, 62], who had done good service against the Marian party in B.C. 83—2, and to Pompey's support of Lepidus against Sylla's wishes [27, 66] in the contest for the consulship. He also quotes Caesar's sarcasm, *Sylla non potuit dictare* [15, 220].

**Syria**, exasperation of the legions in [*Fame*, 35].

**Tacitus**, Caius Cornelius, Roman historian, fl. A.D. 100, received favours at the hands of the emperors Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. His extant works are the *Life of Agricola*, who was governor of Britain, A.D. 78—84, and whose daughter Tacitus married; a treatise on the *Germans*; the *Annals*, comprising the period from the death of Augustus to the death of Nero (A.D. 14—68); the *Histories*, comprising the period from the accession of Galba to the death of Domitian (A.D. 68—96); and

a *Dialogue on the Decline of Eloquence*. Only portions of the *Annals* and *Histories* have come down to us. For Bacon's numerous references see QUOTATIONS.

**Talmud** [16, 2]. The Talmud consists of two parts, the *Mishna* and the *Gemara*. The *Mishna* is a digest of the Jewish traditions and a compendium of the ritual law, on which the *Gemara* is a commentary containing illustrative notes compiled at a later date. When the word *Talmud* is used alone, it often signifies the *Gemara*.

**Tamerlane** (or Timour the Tartar), b. A.D. 1335, descended from Genghis Khan (who founded the great Mogul empire, and died A.D. 1227), became sovereign of Tartary in 1370. His conquests reached from Moscow to Delhi. In 1401 he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turks at Angora and captured their Sultan, Bajazet I. Tamerlane died, A.D. 1405. His name is a corruption of the Turkish *Timour lenc*, i.e. Timour the lame [9, 50].

**Tartars**, their westward movement in war [58, 112].

**Tartary**, its excessive population [58, 146].

**Thales** of Miletus, B.C. 640—550, the earliest Greek philosopher of eminence, founder of the Ionic school, and one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece. Bacon quotes his saying respecting the right time for marriage [8, 51].

**Themistocles**, an Athenian statesman and general, belonging to the period when Greece was threatened by the Persian empire. The banishment of his rival Aristides, in B.C. 483, left him free to pursue his own policy. He created a Greek navy, defeated Xerxes off Salamis, B.C. 480, and caused his speedy retreat from Greece [Fame, 47]. In B.C. 471 he was condemned to temporary banishment on a charge of receiving bribes. After many perils he reached the court of Persia where Artaxerxes was then king [27, 154]. Artaxerxes loaded him with presents and gave him a residence at Magnesia, in Asia Minor, where he died. Bacon quotes his remark that 'he could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city' [29, 1].

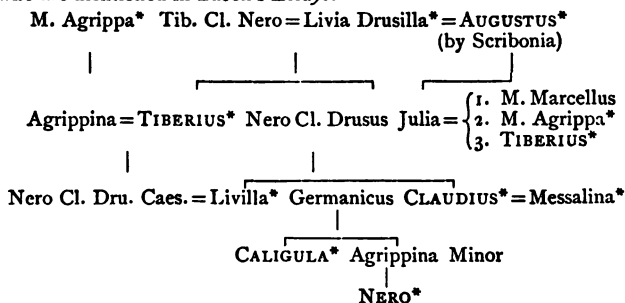
**Theodoricus** (Theodoric) the Great, king of the Ostrogoths and founder of their dominion in Italy [55, 40] b. A.D. 455 near Vienna, received his education at Constantinople, whither he was sent as a hostage. After ten years' absence he was restored to his father, who had become sole ruler of the Ostrogoths. Theodoric invaded Italy in 488, then under the sway of Odoacer, the usurper, who had deposed and banished Romulus Augustulus in 476, and thereby brought to an end the Roman empire in the West. Theodoric defeated Odoacer and in 493 accepted his capitulation with the condition that they should reign jointly. A few days later Theodoric murdered his vanquished rival and assumed the Roman purple. He made Ravenna his capital and there he died, A.D. 526.

**Thule** [35, 16], an island in the extreme north of Europe, variously identified with Iceland or with one or other of the Shetland Isles.

**Tiberius** (Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar), emperor of Rome, A.D. 14—37, b. B.C. 42, son of Tib. Claudius Nero and of Livia. Four years after the birth of Tiberius, Livia had been forced to leave her husband and to marry Augustus. In B.C. 11 Augustus compelled

Tiberius to divorce his wife, Agrippa's daughter, and to marry the emperor's only daughter Julia, Agrippa's widow. It was owing to the influence of Livia that Augustus adopted Tiberius as his heir, and by her skilful management, when Augustus was on his death-bed, she secured the undisputed succession of her son [*Fame*, 42]. Sejanus was the only man who gained the thorough confidence of Tiberius [27, 87]. While Tiberius was in retirement at Capreae, Sejanus ruled with almost absolute power at Rome. At length Tiberius became suspicious of Sejanus's designs, and despatched Macro with a letter for the senate [36, 29]. After the letter had been read, Sejanus was put to death, A.D. 31. Tiberius died, A.D. 37. The young Caius Caligula, his successor, and Macro are reported to have hastened his end by smothering him with a pillow. As the result of his surroundings during his early life, Tiberius grew up reserved in character [8, 11] and he retained his habits of dissimulation to the last [2, 40]. Bacon mentions his prediction that Galba would one day be at the head of the Roman world [35, 27].

The following Table shows the relationship of several members of the Imperial Family. An asterisk is attached to the names of those who are mentioned in Bacon's *Essays*.



**Tigellinus**, Sophonius, owed his rise from poverty and obscurity to his good looks and unscrupulous character. Early in Nero's reign he was in favour at court, and when Burrus [22, 96] was poisoned in A.D. 63, Tigellinus became prætorian prefect and seconded Nero in his worst atrocities. On Nero's downfall, A.D. 68, Tigellinus abandoned his master in distress and supported Galba's cause. By means of bribery he was saved during Galba's short reign from the fate which he deserved, but he perished by his own hand on Otho's accession, A.D. 69.

**Tigranes**, king of Armenia, afforded a refuge to his father-in-law Mithridates in B.C. 71, when the Third Mithridatic War was at an early stage. Confident in the multitude of his forces, Tigranes gave battle to the Romans at Tigranocerta, B.C. 69, and was totally defeated by Lucullus [29, 63]. The command of the Mithridatic War was conferred on Pompey by the Manilian Law, in B.C. 66, and the

same year Pompey invaded Armenia and received the submission of Tigranes.

**Timaëus**, the title of one of Plato's Dialogues [35, 99], which derives its name from Timaëus, one of Plato's disciples.

**Timoleon**, one of the greatest of Greek generals and patriots, delivered Corinth from the despotism of his elder brother Timophanes, to whose execution he gave a reluctant consent. The reproaches of his mother caused him to withdraw from public life for twenty years, but in B.C. 343 the Corinthians summoned him to lead an expedition against Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. Timoleon's enterprise met with uninterrupted success [40, 58]. He gained a great victory over the Carthaginians, restored a republican constitution to Syracuse, and expelled the tyrants from the other Sicilian cities. He became a Syracusan citizen and abdicated his power, but still continued to exercise great influence in the state. His birthday was kept as a public festival, and when he died, B.C. 336, he was buried with great magnificence at the public cost.

**Timon**, the Misanthrope, fl. in the time of the Peloponnesian War. He was an Athenian who, in consequence of early disappointments, retired from the world [13, 65] and is said to have died because he refused to let a surgeon visit him to set a broken limb. Aristophanes attacked him in the *Birds*, B.C. 414, and in the *Lysistrata*, B.C. 411.

**Timotheus**, son of Conon, was an illustrious Athenian general, who reached the height of his glory and popularity in B.C. 363. In consequence of a heavy fine for bribery, he withdrew to Chalcis in Euboea, B.C. 354, and died there shortly afterwards. Bacon quotes Plutarch's remark that when Timotheus denied that his success was due to Fortune, Fortune forsook him [40, 51].

**Tiphys**, the helmsman of the ship Argo, died on the voyage of the Argonauts in search of the Golden Fleece [35, 14].

**Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus**, Roman emperor, A.D. 79—81, b. A.D. 40, son of the emperor Vespasian. He was remarkable for his endowments of body and mind [43, 10]. By the capture of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, he brought to an end the war in Judaea and shared with his father the honours of a triumph. Titus was succeeded by his brother Domitian.

**Trajan** (Marcus Ulpius Trajanus), one of the most illustrious Roman emperors, A.D. 98—117, b. near Seville, A.D. 52, was adopted by Nerva, who chose him for his well-known virtues, his military spirit, and his fitness to command [27, 99]. By his victories over the Dacians, Germans and Parthians, Trajan securely fixed the boundaries of the Roman empire on the banks of the Rhine and the Tigris. His internal administration was equally glorious, and his reign was celebrated, with that of his successor Hadrian and with the period of the two Antonines, for its justice and clemency.

**Trent** (Tridentum), a town in the Tyrol, where the General Council met [17, 25] in A.D. 1545 and continued its deliberations, with sundry interruptions, till the year 1563. The Council reformed certain practical abuses, but its main result was to define more rigidly than before the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, and as one of its last acts was to issue an anathema against heretics, the Protestants refused to recognise its decisions.

**Tully** [42, 62], see *Cicero*.

**Turk**, the Great [Fame, 45].

**Turkey**, its expansiveness [58, 142].

**Turks**, marriage despised among [8, 34], kind to beasts [13, 17], have no nobility [14, 4], their profession of arms [29, 212, 221], their ground for making war [29, 233], defeated at Lepanto [29, 284], in masques [37, 37, 40].

**Tyana**, a town in Cappadocia at the foot of Mount Taurus, celebrated as the native place of the notorious Apollonius [27, 13].

**Ulysses** (Odysseus), king of Ithaca, whose wanderings for twenty years after the fall of Troy form the subject of Homer's *Odyssey*. The enchantress Calypso promised him immortality if he would remain for ever with her on the island of Ogygia [8, 42]. His heart was true however to his wife Penelope. During his absence Penelope was harassed by the pertinacity of her numerous suitors, whom Ulysses slew on his return home.

**United Provinces** of the Low Countries [14, 14]. The Republic of the Seven United Provinces threw off the yoke of Spain in A.D. 1579. Holland became the leading state of the republic, and its name was consequently used to denote the United Provinces as a whole.

**Utopia**, the title of Sir Thomas More's prose romance, in which an imaginary republic is depicted, and remedies for the evils which were rife in his day are suggested [41, 72]. The name is derived from *ὄψις*, *ópsis*, 'not a place,' i.e. 'Nowhere.' The original Latin version of More's *Utopia* was published in A.D. 1516.

**Vatican**, the papal palace at Rome, on the Mons Vaticanus. It is said to have been begun by Symmachus, A.D. 498, and to contain more than 4400 rooms [45, 45].

**Vespasian** (Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus), b. A.D. 9, Roman emperor A.D. 70—79. He rose to distinction in the army during the reigns of Caligula and Nero, and was in command of a powerful army in the East at the time when Galba was killed and war broke out between Otho and Vitellius, A.D. 69. The prediction which had long been current in the East, that the sovereignty of the world would devolve upon one who should go forth from Judaea, was supposed to find its fulfilment in the fact that Vespasian was called from Judaea to the imperial throne [35, 29]. Vespasian reluctantly yielded to the pleadings of Mucianus that he would make himself emperor [8, 8], and proceeded to Egypt in order to cut off the corn supplies and starve Vitellius into surrender. In a short time however a victory was gained over Vitellius by Antonius Primus, and Vitellius was put to death, A.D. 69. At Alexandria Vespasian had an interview with Apollonius of Tyana [19, 36] and is said to have performed a couple of miraculous cures. He left the subjugation of Judaea to be completed by his son Titus, who took Jerusalem and destroyed the Holy City and its Temple in A.D. 71. On his arrival at Rome Vespasian restored order [55, 40], and made good use of the money which he raised from various forms of taxation. He had many great qualities and some mean ones. Tacitus says that, unlike any of his predecessors, he was improved by empire [11, 100]. His jesting humour did not forsake him even on his death-bed [2, 42].

**Virgil** (Publius Vergilius Maro), b. B.C. 70 near Mantua in Cisalpine Gaul, di. B.C. 19. Author of the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Æneid*. For Bacon's references to Virgil see QUOTATIONS.

**Virginia**, tobacco in [33, 55].

**Vitellius**, Aulus, b. A.D. 15, who pandered to the vices of Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero in succession, was notorious for his gluttony, and popular with the soldiers for his easy good-nature. Two of Galba's generals of the army on the Rhine prompted the legions to proclaim Vitellius emperor, A.D. 69, and hastened to Italy, where they defeated the army of Otho (*q.v.*) at Bedriacum. Vitellius reached Rome when the victory was secured, but gave himself up to the pleasures of the table, while his generals governed in his name. Meanwhile Mucianus in the East had stirred up disaffection among the troops by spreading a report that Vitellius intended to move them from Syria to Germany [Fame, 32], and encouraged Vespasian to take up arms against Vitellius [6, 9]. Thus within the space of little more than a twelvemonth the Roman empire had witnessed the death of Nero, the accession and death of Galba and Otho, the accession of Vitellius, and the proclamation of Vespasian as emperor. In a second battle of Bedriacum Vitellius's generals were overthrown, and Vespasian's officer, Antonius Primus, pushing on to Rome, slaughtered the Vitellians there. Vitellius was dragged from his hiding-place and buffeted to death, A.D. 69. His reign had lasted not quite a year.

**William II.**, surnamed Rufus, king of England A.D. 1087—1100. On the death of Lanfranc, Abp of Canterbury, A.D. 1089, William laid his hands upon the revenues of vacant sees and abbeys, and appointed no successor to Lanfranc until 1093, when Anselm was made primate. A violent quarrel with Anselm ensued [19, 122], in the course of which the archbishop was forced to go into exile.

**Xerxes**, king of Persia, succeeded his father Darius, B.C. 485. Since the defeat of Darius at Marathon, B.C. 490, preparations had been constantly in progress for another invasion of Greece. In B.C. 480 Xerxes began his march from Sardis and was defeated at Salamis. Fearing that the bridge of boats across the Hellespont might be destroyed [Fame, 47] he hurriedly left Greece. He was assassinated by one of the great officers of his court, B.C. 465.

**Zanger** (Tzihanger or Djihangir), the eldest of the sons of Solyman the Magnificent by his wife Roxolana. When he found that his half-brother and heir to the throne, Mustapha (*q.v.*), had been strangled by his father's orders, A.D. 1553, his distress was extreme, and is said to have caused his death; but whether he died of grief, of poison, or by his own hand, is uncertain. Zanger is mentioned by Bacon as an instance of deformity combined with excellence [44, 39].

**Zeuxis**, one of the most celebrated painters of antiquity, was at the height of his reputation about the year B.C. 400. He painted the king of Macedon's palace at Pella. Cicero and other ancient authors tell the story of his selection of five beautiful maidens of Croton to serve as models for his picture of Helen. Bacon erroneously attributes this incident to Apelles [43, 20].

## WORKS QUOTED IN BACON'S *ESSAYS*.

\* \* The numbers refer to the Essay and Line.

Æsop, 54, 1	Machiavelli, 13, 26	Plutarch, 45, 35
Aristotle, 27, 3, 233	15, 41	Publius Syrus, 10, 32
Augustine, 3, 81	39, 5	Quintilian, 26, 31 <sup>1</sup>
Bernard, 16, 65	58, 39	49, 54
Celsus, 30, 45	Martial, 20, 101	Regiomontanus, 35, 71
Cicero, 8, 42	Montaigne, 1, 74	Sallust, 19, 54 <sup>2</sup>
11, 11	Ovid, 15, 150	Scripture,
16, 89	16, 79	Old Testament
23, 47	32, 23	<i>Genesis</i> , 11, 41
26, 21	38, 23	29, 89
27, 79	42, 66	41, 8
29, 278	50, 39	51, 51
34, 27	56, 52	<i>Deuteronomy</i> , 56, 11
42, 62	Philostratus, 19, 37	<i>I Samuel</i> , 35, 4
54, 33	Plato, 58, 2, 31	<i>II Kings</i> , 3, 56
56, 129	Plautus, 9, 36	<i>Nehemiah</i> , 22, 48
Cicero, Q., 55, 23	40, 4	<i>Job</i> , 4, 33
Dio Cassius, 2, 45	Pliny, 15, 99	15, 64
27, 85, 98	53, 30	<i>Psalms</i> , 3, 37
Diog. Laertius, 16, 42	54, 53	4, 27
Horace, 2, 59	Plutarch, 7, 49	16, 20
Juvenal, 2, 48	10, 27	20, 163
Livy, 40, 17	17, 5	38, 47
54, 16	27, 68, 119	56, 46, 59
Lucan, 15, 83	29, 5, 62, 67	<i>Proverbs</i> , 4, 8
Lucian, 1, 12	35, 27	7, 19
Lucretius, 1, 50	40, 47, 51, 57	11, 93
3, 130	43, 33	19, 8

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly attributed to Aulus Gellius.

<sup>2</sup> Wrongly attributed to Tacitus.



- Proverbs*, 20, 12  
                   22, 131  
                   34, 19, 30,  
                       102  
                   53, 40  
                   54, 27  
                   56, 17, 38  
*Ecclesiastes*, 24, 8  
                   52, 49  
                   53, 14  
                   58, 1, 4  
*Isaiah*, 3, 138  
                   15, 64  
                   20, 11  
                   56, 33  
*Jeremiah*, 24, 38  
*Joel*, 42, 47  
*Amos*, 56, 23  
     New Testament  
*Matthew*, 3, 25, 66  
                   9, 172  
                   13, 38  
                   29, 44, 328  
                   34, 110  
                   41, 13  
                   56, 98  
                   58, 72  
*Mark*, 3, 66  
                   9, 8  
*Mark*, 13, 46  
                   34, 110  
*Luke*, 1, 82  
                   2, 56  
                   3, 67  
                   20, 90  
                   57, 15  
*John*, 1, 1  
                   15, 170  
*Romans*, 2, 4  
                   13, 82  
                   44, 4  
                   53, 56  
*I Corinthians*, 3, 32  
                                   27, 18  
*II —*                       58, 55  
*Ephesians*, 57, 2  
*I Timothy*, 3, 97  
                                   56, 155  
*II —*                       26, 5  
                                   44, 4  
*James*, 3, 155  
                                   27, 194  
                                   56, 75  
*Revelation*, 3, 59  
*Seneca*, 2, 17  
                   5, 4, 9  
                   11, 29  
*Seneca*, 35, 11  
                   57, 14  
*Spartianus*, 42, 12  
*Suetonius*, 2, 39, 42  
                                   15, 220  
*Tacitus*, 2, 41  
                   6, 5, 9  
                   11, 98, 100  
                   15, 26, 33, 61,  
                                   224, 240  
                   22, 96  
                   27, 90  
                   29, 23  
                   34, 97  
                   35, 28, 32  
                   53, 34  
                   54, 44  
                   55, 56  
*Terence*, 20, 67  
                   26, 8  
*Theocritus*, 53, 35  
*Virgil*, 15, 7, 15  
                   29, 57, 129  
                   35, 7  
                   41, 6  
                   46, 53  
                   57, 19  
                   Fame, 3—11

## APPENDIX.

### § 1. DEVIATIONS IN BACON'S *ESSAYS* FROM THE GRAMMATICAL USAGES OF MODERN ENGLISH.

#### 1. Form.

##### NOUNS, PRONOUNS, and ADJECTIVES.

Use of *his* in place of *s* as the sign of the possessive case: 19, 91, 'Edward II...his queen'; 29, 277, 'Pompey his preparation.'

Omission of inflexion in possessive case: 47, 18, 'for satisfaction sake': (omitted, 14, 11, in 'business sake,' as in 'conscience sake,' 'goodness sake,' in modern English, because these nouns already end in a sibilant).

Use of *his* for *its*: 10, 44; 23, 8; 36, 4; 39, 56; 58, 185-9; cf. also 54, 38, where we should expect *her*, of 'Virtue.'

Pleonastic adverbial form, 47, 39, '*at* unawares': the possessive inflexion alone would convert the adjective into an adverb: cf. *always*, *once*.

Superlative of polysyllabic word formed by inflexion, 32, 8, *honourablest*: also 34, 73, unusual form *certainest*.

##### VERBS.

Past tense *mought* for 'might,' 15, 184; 22, 31; 27, 106, 116; 34, 38; 35, 97.

Weak past tense *digged*, 23, 44.

Confusion of *lay* and 'lie,' 38, 35, 'will lay buried.'

Present participle for past, *beholding* for 'beholden,' 10, 1; 54, 37.

Weak past participle *grinded*, 41, 78; *hanged*, 45, 136.

Past participles in *-en*, *becomen*, 29, 155; *gotten*, 9, 146; 15, 145; 22, 44; 34, 34, 92; *holpen*, 20, 88; 24, 30; 29, 6.

French form, past participle *interested* for 'interested,' 3, 159.

Omission of ending *-d* or *-ed* from past participial forms:

*communicate*, 13, 42.

*confederate*, 16, 10; 24, 16.

*corroborate*, 39, 7.

*degenerate*, 11, 55.

*discontent*, 15, 165; 36, 8; 48, 36.

*elaborate*, 20, 39.

*exhaust*, 8, 38; 58, 189.

*suspect*, 51, 44.

## LATINISMS.

*infortunate* for 'unfortunate,' 4, 43; 40, 51.

*vindicative* for 'vindictive,' 4, 41.

## PREFIXES.

*unproper* for 'improper,' 27, 187; and *infortunate*, 4, 43; 40, 51.

## WORDS NOT NATURALIZED:

*aequinocia*, 15, 4.

*grotta*, 45, 119.

*misanthropi*, 13, 63.

*philanthropia*, 13, 2.

*Pythonissa*, 35, 4.

*Sibylla*, 21, 3.

*statua*, 27, 164; 37, 41; 45, 71,

123; 46, 167, 240.

## 2. Construction and Idiom.

## ADJECTIVES.

Adjective used as Adverb:

*exceeding*, 39, 51.

*extreme*, 37, 9; 44, 17.

*fair*, 6, 95; 56, 81.

*infortunate*, 4, 43.

*lively*, 5, 19.

*new*, 36, 35.

*orderly*, 27, 151.

*right*, 15, 20.

*scarce*, 27, 246.

*stately*, 1, 20; 46, 6.

*straight*, 22, 81.

*sure*, 11, 112; 29, 173.

*unlike*, 58, 137.

*wonderful*, 12, 14.

Adjective used as Noun: *private*, 33, 50.

Adjective *ill* used attributively: *e.g.* 12, 25; 45, 6; 49, 1; 55, 15.

## ADVERBS.

Adverb used as Adjective: *often*, 38, 7; *very*, 13, 66.

*never* used for 'ever,' 36, 20 (see note); 50, 47; 52, 44; 54, 5.

*no* used for 'not,' 31, 14, 'likely or no.'

## ARTICLES.

Insertion of Definite Article: 'the matter,' 1, 45; 53, 12; 'at the second hand,' 54, 38; 'the politics,' *Fame*, 22.

Omission: 'Question was asked,' 12, 2; 'to represent to life,' 27, 229.

Insertion of Indefinite Article: 'a weariness,' 2, 34; 'in a proportion,' 4, 35; 'a waggishness,' 13, 20; 'in an anger,' *Fame*, 14.

Omission: 'God never wrought miracle,' 16, 4; 'as if it were matter of grace,' 27, 51; 'it is pity,' 41, 2; 'it was great advantage,' 29, 189; 'at distance,' 45, 151.

## CONJUNCTIONS AND CONJUNCTIONAL PHRASES.

*and* = 'if,' 23, 35; 40, 39.

*as* = 'that,' *passim*, *e.g.* 3, 100, 126; 8, 22, 49; 11, 3; 16, 22, 59; 21, 31; 23, 5, 34; 27, 43, 79; 31, 25; 36, 12; 51, 13.

*because* = 'in order that,' 8, 15; 25, 12; 34, 16.

*for* = 'because,' 46, 126.

*for that* = 'because,' 16, 55; 19, 102; 22, 119; 34, 77; 35, 57.

*in regard* = 'because of,' 29, 117; 41, 114.

*so* = 'provided that,' 7, 37; 9, 118, 134; 15, 179; 33, 53; 37, 19; 46, 76; 48, 26; 52, 36.

*so as* = 'provided that,' 25, 47.

*so that* = 'provided that,' 1, 57; 18, 6.

*that* = 'so that,' 56, 146 (see note).

*that* = 'if' (or redundant) 36, 51.

*that* = 'when' (or redundant) 15, 49; 19, 95; 27, 66; 40, 14.

*that* merely connective, 47, 37.

## NOUNS.

Noun used as Adjective; *Mercury*, 3, 151; *slope*, 46, 119; and instead of Adjective, *danger*, 47, 7; *reason*, 8, 7; 11, 14; 14, 39.

*Virtue* personified as masculine noun, 54, 38.

## PREPOSITIONS and PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES.

*for* = 'as regards,' *passim*, e.g. 3, 18; 6, 41, 64, 78; 8, 31; 11, 71, 74, 87; 14, 6.

*from* = 'away from,' 45, 101.

*in* = 'into,' 1, 11.

*in regard of* = 'because of,' 27, 45; 41, 114.

*in respect of* = 'in comparison with,' 29, 300; 40, 58.

*of* used appositionally, 15, 68; 22, 10; 29, 329.

*of* = 'about,' 16, 64, 'scandal of priests.'

*of* = 'among,' 14, 48.

*of* = 'by,' 54, 1.

*of* = 'for,' 6, 26, 'a name of certainty'; 15, 54; 16, 68; 17, 35, 'reverence of'; 56, 49, 'of long.'

*of* = 'from,' 2, 24; 27, 27; 33, 37; 36, 33; 53, 28; and = 'resulting from,' 19, 96; 54, 16.

*of* = 'on,' 19, 124, 'dependence of'; 26, 36, 'of the negative side'; 46, 99, 'of either side'; 44, 5, 'revenge of nature.'

*of* = 'with regard to,' 58, 99, 'do the like of superlative holiness.'

The use of the preposition *of* after the following verbs is at variance with modern idiom:

*consider of*, 44, 12; 58, 25.

*defineth of*, 56, 14.

*devoured of*, 35, 76.

*discern of*, 36, 67.

*esteemeth of*, 10, 42.

*mean of*, 54, 43.

*mixed of*, 27, 214.

*proceed of*, 25, 41; 51, 41; 53, 19; 54, 45; 56, 70.

*produced of*, 54, 24.

*rising of*, 6, 82.

*to* = 'for,' 33, 47, 'employed to a common stock.'

*upon* = 'at,' 54, 29, 'upon charge and adventure.'

*upon* = 'at the expense of,' 15, 144, 'upon the foreigner.'

*upon* = 'by reason of,' 2, 34, 'upon a weariness'; 38, 18, 71; 48, 8; 52, 37; 54, 4.

*upon* = 'with,' 34, 41, 'upon speed.'

*upon* redundant, 38, 49, 'commandeth upon himself.'

*with* = 'to,' 13, 42, 'benefits to be communicate with all'; 31, 31.

*without* = 'outside,' 40, 35; 50, 18.

#### PRONOUNS.

*either* for 'each,' 30, 57; 42, 40; 45, 57; 46, 99, 122; 54, 19.

*every* as noun, 15, 57, 'every of them.'

*it* for 'that,' 11, 96; used indeterminately, 26, 23; 51, 38.

*other* used as pronoun or adverb, 4, 18.

The supposed distinction between *which* and *that* as coordinating and restrictive relatives is not observed: 5, 2—3; 15, 38—9; 28, 39—40.

The restrictive *that* occurs after a proper noun, 3, 128, 'Agamemnon that.'

*which* for 'who,' 3, 89; 7, 10; 8, 5; 9, 109; 15, 38; 29, 23, 25; 43, 3, 8, 17; 53, 47.

*that* for 'such,' 27, 63; 29, 230.

*that...as* for 'such...that,' 6, 13; 14, 22; 33, 71; 46, 230; **Fame**, 30.

#### VERBS.

Intransitive verb used transitively, 13, 40, *shine*; 27, 115, *perish*.

Transitive verb used intransitively, 19, 146, *nourish*; 34, 41, *enrich*.

Wrong sequence, 29, 226, '*hath* growen' for 'had grown'; 49, 57, 'to *have lost*' for 'to lose.'

Use of infinitive without *to*: 9, 41, 'think themselves go back.'

Use of *to* and infinitive in place of preposition and gerund:

2, 34, *to do* = 'of doing.'

26, 36, *to be* = 'in being.'

27, 202, *to think himself* = 'thinking himself,' explaining 'imaginations.'

41, 84, *to seek* = 'for seeking,' i.e. 'must seek.'

41, 94, *to take* = 'from taking.'

42, 30, *to innovate* = 'about innovating.'

53, 44, *to praise* = 'as for praising' (see note).

56, 36, *to make* = 'in making,'

and in place of verbal noun,

3, 117, *to propagate* = 'the propagation of.'

Use of *be* for 'are': 1, 2; 3, 82, 102, 113; 6, 33; 9, 1, 108; 13, 54; 15, 146; 20, 70, 92, 144; 22, 4, 21; 25, 52; 29, 285, 302; 39, 36; 40, 10, 31, 55; 42, 54; 45, 46; 46, 105, 135, 175; 52, 23; 53, 17; 56, 23, 25; 57, 48; 58, 80, 94, 147; **Fame**, 50.

Use of *shall* for 'will,' expressing definite futurity: 2, 8; 3, 87; 7, 8, 21; 8, 30; 9, 97; 12, 30; 14, 49; 16, 31, 33; 22, 124; 31, 32; 32, 28, 30, 39; 38, 31; 40, 20; 41, 110; 43, 28; 45, 9, 104; 52, 14, 16, 30, 32:

and with the stronger sense of 'must,' 'destined to': 13, 69; 24, 13; 29, 107, 188; 34, 65; 43, 29; 45, 12; 46, 5.

Use of *should* for 'would,' in reported statement, 27, 7; 53, 36.

Use of *would* for 'should,' 'ought to': 3, 155; 17, 50; 22, 22; 31, 35; 33, 60; 37, 11; 46, 210; 50, 28:

and for 'wish to': 22, 36, 127; 26, 15, 28; 32, 35; 43, 21; 47, 3, 32, 40.

Use of *beware* followed by positive injunction: 24, 34; 57, 23.

#### VIOLATION OF CONCORD.

Singular verb after more than one subject (in some instances justified because the subjects jointly represent one complex idea): 11, 38 (see note); 15, 163; 25, 47; 27, 6; 29, 138, 226; 37, 48, 50; 38, 3; 42, 17; 46, 161; 56, 34, 58.

Singular verb after *that* referring to plural antecedent, 29, 317; after *which*, 53, 29 (perhaps due to attraction).

Plural noun treated as collective and singular, 45, 70, 'a goodly *leads*.'

Plural verb after singular subject: 33, 62 (perhaps due to attraction); 55, 29 (perhaps due to inversion).

Plural verb after two singular subjects connected by *nor*, 39, 15.

Singular noun treated as plural, 14, 9, 'there are stirps.'

Inconsistency in number of Pronouns: 15, 57—8; 20, 104—5; 26, 42, 'their wealth'; 29, 219, 'no nation which *doth...their* mouths'; 29, 228, *them* referring to 'state'; 33, 69, *them* referring to 'one'; 58, 154, *they* referring to 'state'; 34, 93, *it* and *they* referring to 'riches'; 41, 110, 'all borrowers...be *he*'; 51, 13, 'in beginners... as *he* be.'

In 22, 59, *he* is used to refer to 'one.'

#### ANACOLUTHON, *i.e.* the confusion of two constructions.

8, 10, *requires* 'yet think only of themselves.'

22, 115     "     'was approached and called.'

28, 21     "     'ought to turn.'

29, 125     "     'in keeping,' to correspond with 'in making,' or  
                  "     'may keep' to correspond with 'may breed.'

29, 148     "     'For to think...of dominion is *absurd*: *such an*  
                  "     *empire* may hold &c.'

46, 122     "     'ground enough should be left.'

53, 45     "     'may be done.'

#### LOOSE CONSTRUCTIONS.

9, 98, 'bemoaning themselves what a life &c.' for (1) 'bemoaning themselves for the life,' or (2) 'bemoaning the life.'

11, 103, 'whom honour amends' requires (1) 'if honour amends it,' or (2) 'He is a generous spirit whom &c.'

37, 47, 'in *such* a company as there is heat' for 'in a company *where* there is heat.'

38, 50, 'whatsoever is agreeable' for 'as to whatsoever is agreeable.'

42, 20, 'the experience of age directeth *them*,' viz. 'old men,' supplied *κατὰ σύνεσιν* from *age*.

45, 21—4: the whole passage is loosely put together: thus, to correspond with its opening lines, *too near*, *too far off*, &c. must be replaced by nouns, such as 'too close proximity,' 'too great distance' &c. Secondly, '*having* the commodity &c.' should be '*not having* the commodity,' to correspond with the various 'wants' or drawbacks previously enumerated.

46, 145, 'and some fine banqueting-house' requires the words 'to be built there,' or an equivalent.

#### ELLIPSIS.

Of Relative pronoun as *subject*: 3, 71; 4, 12; 6, 38, 40; 13, 29, 54; 28, 41; 31, 15; 32, 41; 42, 54.

Of Relative pronoun as *object*: 12, 6; 13, 2; 16, 23; 18, 57, 80; 22, 35, 100; 26, 15; 27, 176; 29, 215; 32, 39; 37, 27; 41, 108; 43, 14; 50, 36; 54, 55; 57, 15 (see note).

Of Antecedent *he*, 9, 25; 28, 35.

Of *they*, subject of 'are,' 22, 125.

Of preposition *of*, 2, 20, 'worthy the observing'; 12, 2, 'worthy consideration.'

Of preposition *on*, 46, 105, 'that side which the garden stands.'

Of preposition *in*, 3, 141, '*What* is it better?' i.e. '*In what* is it better?'

Of infinitive, 22, 69, 'which they are not accustomed (to do).'

Of *by so much*, adverbial phrase correlative to 'by how much,' 6, 61; 10, 37; 20, 6; 34, 98.

#### PLEONASM.

Redundant pronoun as *subject*:

*he*, 22, 59, 62; 32, 27; 53, 55.

*they*, 8, 38; 19, 134; 29, 237; 34, 95; 36, 6; 37, 33.

*it*, 24, 15; 35, 32; 36, 55.

*which*, 36, 13.

Redundant pronoun as *object*:

*them*, 9, 152; 43, 29 (see note);

*it*, 22, 90.

Redundant phrase *such like* (for *such* = 'so like') 29, 306; 46, 51, 198; **Fama**, 51; not an uncommon solecism at the present day.

Redundant conjunction *that*, 1, 25; 15, 28; 47, 37; also redundant or in substitution for *if*, 36, 51, and for *when*, 18, 49; 19, 95; 27, 66; 40, 14.

Redundant negative: 3, 93, '*not discern*'; 7, 2, *nor* for 'and'; 11, 4, *neither...nor* for 'either...or'; 38, 6; 39, 6, 13; 41, 127; 53, 43, *nor* for 'or.'

Redundant *to*, 24, 40; 31, 17.

#### ARCHAISM.

'you were better,' 26, 46; 'a man were better,' 27, 164; 49, 56; 'men were better,' 51, 11; originally an impersonal construction, '*It* were (i.e. would be) better for you,' 'for a man,' 'for men.'

## GRAECISM.

'of all others the greatest,' 3, 19; (cf. 9, 163; 36, 38) should be either (1) 'the greatest of all,' or (2) 'greater than all others.' See *Elements of English Grammar* (Pitt Press Series), § 251, 2, p. 230.

'The politics,' i.e. 'political treatises,' τὰ πολιτικά, *Fame*, 22.

## LATINISM.

Imitation of the use of *quin*: 1, 24-7, 'Doth any man doubt *but*'; 12, 45, 'doubt you not *but*'; 9, 57, 'impossible *but*'; 40, 1, 'It cannot be denied *but*'; 46, 218, 'I do not deny *but*'; 43, 25, 'not *but* I think'; 27, 128, 'there is no one *but* he joyeth'; 50, 41, 'no stond ..*but* may be wrought out.'

Imitation of *sunt qui*: 13, 54; 20, 92; 56, 23, 25; 'there be *that*'; 26, 7, 'there are *that*'; 40, 55, 'there be *whose*'.

9, 66, 'incurrerth *into*'.

11, 76, 'integrity used' = 'the use of integrity.'

11, 77, 'integrity professed' = 'the profession of integrity.'

25, 1, 'affected dispatch' = 'the desire of dispatch.'

29, 246, 'invasion offered' = 'the offer of invasion.'

Comparative form used where no comparison is involved:

44, 13, '*more* deceivable' = 'somewhat deceptive.'

47, 14, 'men of a *plainer* sort' = 'rather plain men.'

## 3. Order.

Inversion of Noun and Adjective:

*line royal*, 14, 6; *consistories ecclesiastic*, 18, 21; *garlands personal*, 29, 310; *gains certain*, 34, 84; *laws penal*, 56, 43, but *penal laws* in lines 47, 48.

On the other hand Bacon writes *politic body* in 12, 27, and 15, 91; modern idiom prefers *body politic*.

*Neither* wrongly placed, 1, 15.

## 4. Meaning of words.

Latin influence has affected the meaning of the following words:

*abstract*, 'withdrawn,' 34, 25.

*absurd*, 6, 71; 26, 47; 47, 23.

*affect*, 'aim at,' 1, 4; 9, 48; 13, 1; 22, 80; 26, 36; 55, 3.

*apt*, 'fit,' 29, 47.

*argument*, 'subject,' 29, 30; 50, 29; 'proposition,' 32, 2.

*censure*, 'judgment,' 29, 3.

*collect*, 'infer,' 35, 94.

*comfort*, 'strengthen,' 39, 54.

*commiserable*, 'deserving compassion,' 33, 108.

*commodities*, 'advantages,' 41, 19.

*compound*, 'settle,' 49, 22; 55, 38; 58, 102.



- contain*, 'restrain,' 29, 195; 57, 47.  
*converse*, 'be engaged in,' 38, 48.  
*curiously*, 'carefully,' 50, 25.  
*destitute*, 'abandon,' 33, 106.  
*discern*, 'distinguish,' 36, 72; *Fame*, 26.  
*dissolve*, 'annul,' 3, 112.  
*expended*, 'doled out,' 33, 44.  
*glorious*, 'ostentatious,' 34, 109; 43, 12; 54, 6, 29, 58.  
*induce*, 'bring upon,' 44, 15.  
*industriously*, 'purposely' (*de industria*) 6, 39.  
*obnoxious to*, 'under the influence of,' 'submissive to,' 20, 111;  
 44, 31; 'liable to,' 36, 47.  
*occasion*, 'opportunity,' 32, 9.  
*officious*, 'ready to serve,' 44, 31; 48, 21, 40.  
*perfection*, 'completion,' 25, 53; 'practice,' 'accomplishment,' 45, 43.  
*person*, 'part,' or 'character' which a man sustains in life, 20, 103;  
 27, 255.  
*piety*, 'natural affection,' 17, 12.  
*principal*, 'initial,' 35, 53.  
*reason*, 'relation' (*ratio*) 44, 35; 'principle,' 56, 139.  
*reduce*, 'carry back,' 11, 54.  
*ruin*, 'a falling thing,' 57, 14.  
*saltness*, 'wit' (*sales*) 32, 25.  
*secure*, 'careless,' 15, 103.  
*security*, 'freedom from care,' 5, 9.  
*sentence*, 'opinion,' 58, 3.  
*tract* (of years), 'space,' 42, 65.  
*vouch*, 'call as evidence' (*vocare*) 3, 38.

### USE OF SYNONYMS.

Bacon not unfrequently couples synonymous words. Instances of this tautology are given below:

- astonishment or admiration*, 53, 7.  
*wonder and admiration*, 30, 28.  
*discourse and speech of conversation*, 32, 11.  
*talk and discourse*, 50, 21.  
*discerned and distinguished*, 3, 69.  
*limited and confined*, 57, 4.  
*mates and masters*, 2, 21.  
*donatives and largesses*, 29, 312.  
*prest and ready*, 29, 242.  
*precincts and purprise*, 56, 96.  
*victual or esculent things*, 33, 30.  
*exchanges, burses*, 18, 28.

## § 2. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE AND PRINCIPAL WORKS OF FRANCIS BACON.

- 1560—1. Birth, Jan. 22.
- 1573. Entered Trinity College, Cambridge.
- 1576. Admitted at Gray's Inn.
- 1576—8. In France.
- 1579. Death of Bacon's father.
- 1584. M.P. for Melcombe Regis.
- 1585. *Greatest Birth of Time* written.
- 1586. Benchler of Gray's Inn.  
M.P. for Taunton.
- 1589. M.P. for Liverpool.
- 1593. M.P. for Middlesex.
- 1594. *Gesta Grayorum*, a Device, performed at Gray's Inn.
- 1595. Presented by Essex with an estate.  
A *Device* written for Essex.
- 1597. M.P. for Southampton.  
*Essays*, 1st edition, *Colours of Good and Evil, Meditationes Sacrae*.
- 1601. Prosecution of Essex.  
Death of Bacon's brother Anthony.
- 1603. Knighted by James I.
- 1605. *Advancement of Learning* published.
- 1606. Married Alice Barnham.
- 1607. Solicitor-General.
- 1610. Death of Bacon's mother.
- 1612. *Essays*, 2nd edition.
- 1613. Attorney-General.
- 1614. M.P. for Cambridge University.
- 1616. Privy Councillor.
- 1617. Lord Keeper.
- 1617—8. Lord Chancellor.
- 1618. Created Baron Verulam.
- 1620. Created Viscount St Alban.  
*Novum Organum* published.
- 1621. Charged with bribery, imprisoned in the Tower, and released.  
*History of Henry VII.* published.
- 1623. *De Augmentis* published.
- 1624. *New Atlantis* and *Apophtegms* written.
- 1625. *Essays*, 3rd edition.
- 1626. Death, April 9.

§ 3. EARLY EDITIONS OF BACON'S *ESSAYS*.

**First Edition, 1597.** With this edition of the *Essays*, two other works were bound up, viz. *Religious Meditations* and *Places of Perswasion and Disswasion*. The *Religious Meditations* (*Meditationes Sacrae*) were in Latin. The *Places of Perswasion and Disswasion* are otherwise called the *Coulers of Good and Evil*. The volume contained ten Essays on the following subjects :

- |                             |                           |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Study.                   | 6. Expense.               |
| 2. Discourse.               | 7. Regiment of Health.    |
| 3. Ceremonies and Respects. | 8. Honour and Reputation. |
| 4. Followers and Friends.   | 9. Faction.               |
| 5. Suitors.                 | 10. Negotiating.          |

In the 'Epistle Dedicatorie,' addressed 'to Mr Anthony Bacon, his deare brother,' the author states his reason for publishing 'these fragments of his conceites' without further revision or expansion. 'I doe nowe,' he says, 'like some that have an Orcharde ill neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent stealing....Only I disliked now to put them out because they will bee like the late new halfe-pence, which though the Silver were good, yet the peeces were small.'

**Second Edition, 1612.** This edition contained thirty-eight Essays, twenty-nine of them new, and nine from the First Edition. The Essay on 'Honour and Reputation' was left out. Forty Essays are enumerated in the Table of Contents, but the last two were not printed, their subjects being dealt with in the 38th Essay, which treats of the 'Greatness of Kingdoms.' The Table of Contents is as follows :

- |                                     |                              |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Religion.                        | 21. Riches.                  |
| 2. Death.                           | 22. Ambition.                |
| 3. Goodness and Goodness of Nature. | 23. Young Men and Age.       |
| 4. Cunning.                         | 24. Beauty.                  |
| 5. Marriage and Single-Life.        | 25. Deformity.               |
| 6. Parents and Children.            | 26. Nature in Men.           |
| 7. Nobility.                        | 27. Custom and Education.    |
| 8. Great Place.                     | 28. Fortune.                 |
| 9. Empire.                          | 29. Studies.                 |
| 10. Counsel.                        | 30. Ceremonies and Respects. |
| 11. Dispatch.                       | 31. Suitors.                 |
| 12. Love.                           | 32. Followers.               |
| 13. Friendship.                     | 33. Negotiating.             |
| 14. Atheism.                        | 34. Faction.                 |
| 15. Superstition.                   | 35. Praise.                  |
| 16. Wisdom for a Man's Self.        | 36. Judicature.              |
| 17. Regiment of Health.             | 37. Vain Glory.              |
| 18. Expenses.                       | 38. Greatness of Kingdoms.   |
| 19. Discourse.                      | 39. The Public.              |
| 20. Seeming Wise.                   | 40. War and Peace.           |

It was Bacon's intention to dedicate this edition to Henry, Prince of Wales. Addressing the Prince, Bacon says that since 'just Treatises' demand 'leasure in the Writer and leasure in the Reader,' he has chosen 'to write certaine breif notes, sett downe rather significantlye than curiously,' which he has called *ESSAIES*. 'The word is late, but the thing is auncient. For Seneca's *Epistles to Lucilius*, yf one marke them well, are but *Essaies*,—that is, dispersed Meditacons, though conveyed in the forme of *Epistles*.' Of his own *Essays* Bacon hopes that they may be 'as graynes of salte,' which will rather give the Prince an appetite than offend him with satiety. 'Althoughhe,' he continues, 'they handle those things wherein both men's lives and their pens are most conversant, yet...I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar, but of a nature whereof a man shall find much in experience, little in bookes.'

The Prince died before the volume appeared, and a dedication to Bacon's brother-in-law, Sir John Constable, was substituted. Bacon had married Alice Barnham, and Sir John had married her sister Dorothy.

**Third Edition, 1625.** This edition was published the year before Bacon's death. It contains fifty-eight *Essays*, viz. the thirty-eight from the edition of 1612, the 'Essay of Honour and Reputation,' which had been omitted from that edition, and the following nineteen *Essays* which were new:

- |                                  |                            |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Truth.                        | 24. Innovations.           |
| 4. Revenge.                      | 31. Suspicion.             |
| 5. Adversity.                    | 33. Plantations.           |
| 6. Simulation and Dissimulation. | 35. Prophecies.            |
| 9. Envy.                         | 37. Masks and Triumphs.    |
| 12. Boldness.                    | 41. Usury.                 |
| 15. Seditions and Troubles.      | 45. Building.              |
| 18. Travel.                      | 46. Gardens.               |
| 21. Delays.                      | 57. Anger.                 |
|                                  | 58. Vicissitude of Things. |

The volume is dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham. 'Of all my other workes,' Bacon tells the Duke, 'my *Essays* have beene most currant, for that, as it seemes, they come home to men's Businesse and Bosomes. I have enlarged them, both in Number and Weight, so that they are indeed a New Worke....I doe conceive that the Latine Volume of them, (being in the Universall Language) may last as long as Bookes last.'

In modern editions of Bacon's *Essays*, the text is printed from the edition of 1625.

The Fragment of an Essay 'Of Fame' was discovered by Dr. Bray amongst Bacon's papers, and was printed for the first time. As its genuineness admits of no dispute, it is commonly included in modern editions of the *Essays*.

**Translations.** In the Dedication to the Duke of Buckingham, Bacon makes mention of the *Translations* of the *Essays*.

which he had himself chosen,—*Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum*, 'Faithful Discourses, or the Inwards of Things.' This Latin version did not appear till 1638, when it was published by Dr Rawley. Its authorship has been ascribed to various hands. Bishop Hacket, Ben Jonson, 'the learned and judicious poet,' Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, the philosopher, and John Selden, the scholar and antiquarian, were mentioned, on authority by no means unimpeachable, as contributors to the work. In spite of several obvious errors, it is the most valuable of contemporary translations. Essay 35, 'Of Prophecies,' and Essay 37, 'Of Masques and Triumphs,' are not given in the Latin rendering.

An Italian Translation, with the title *Saggi Morali*, was published in 1618. Bacon's friend, Toby Matthew, was its editor. It contains the Essay 'Of Seditions and Troubles,' which had not at that date appeared in English, and an extract from the Dedication to Prince Henry, which had been suppressed. We may therefore infer that this version was made with Bacon's cognisance and approval.

The first French Translation, edited by Sir Arthur Gorges, was published in 1619. Other French versions, which Mr Reynolds describes as 'little known and little worth knowing,' appeared in 1621 and 1626.

## WORDS AND PHRASES EXPLAINED IN THE NOTES.

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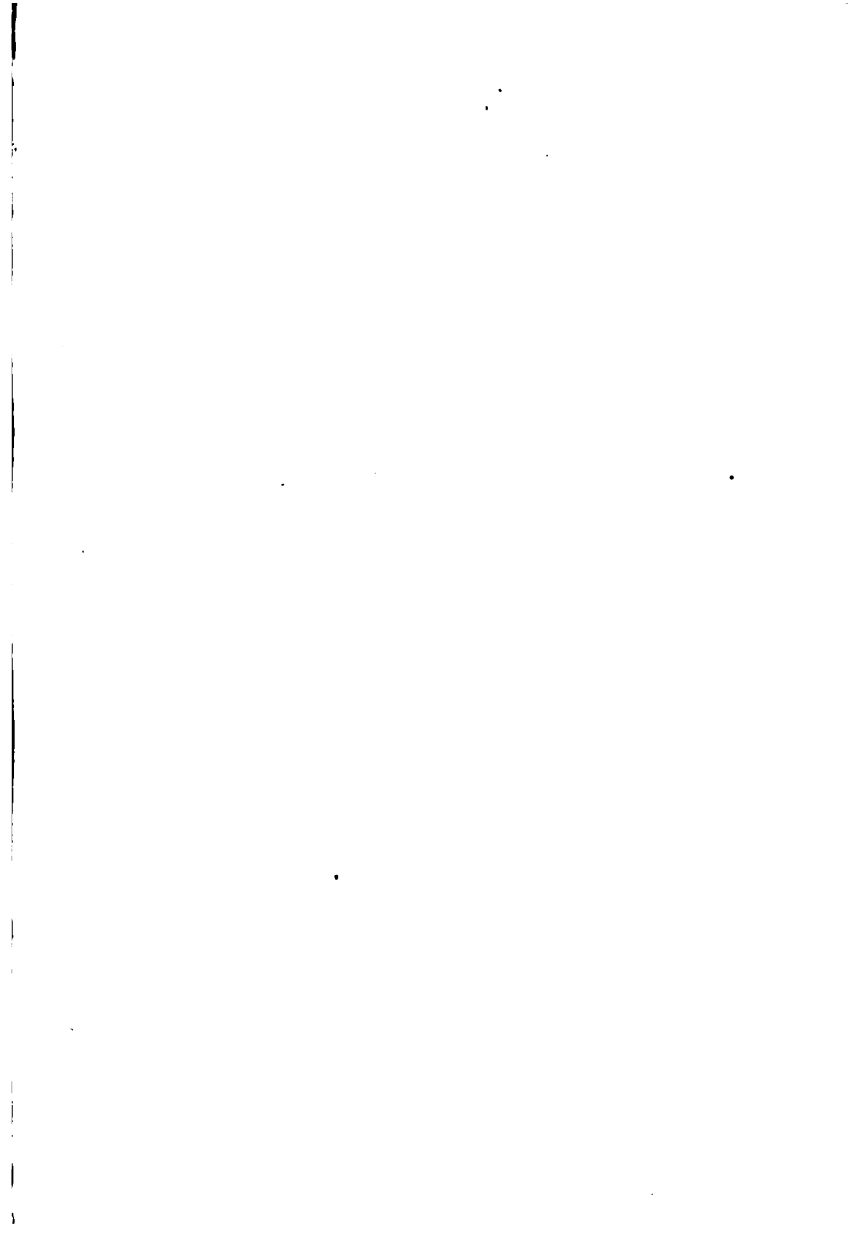
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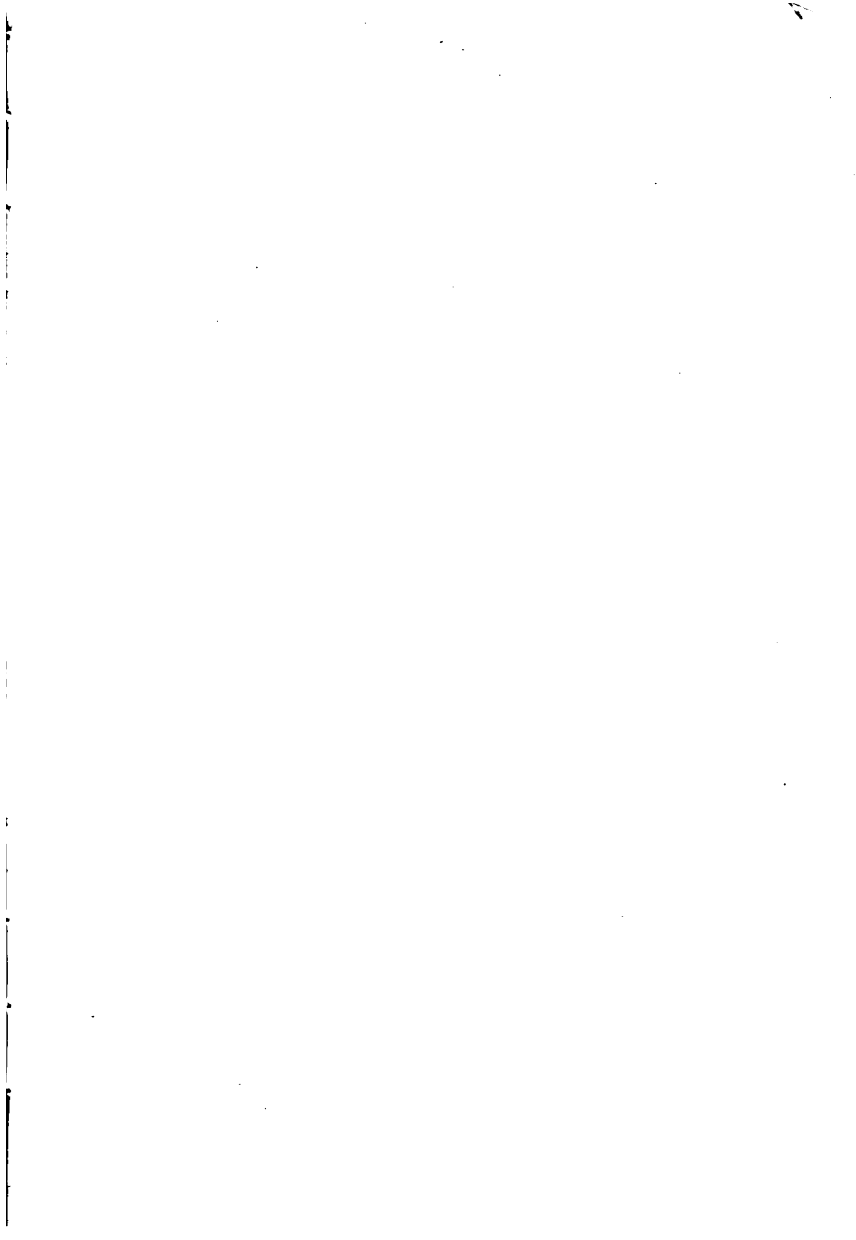
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